

A SKETCH
OF THE LIFE AND WORKS
OF THE LATE
Mr. Justice M G. Ranade,
M A, LL.B, C.I.E, &c.,
JUDGE OF HER MAJESTY'S HIGH COURT
OF JUDICATURE, BOMBAY.

BY
RAO BAHADUR G A. MANKAR,
M A., LL B RETIRED SUB JUDGE
FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

VOLUME II

CONTENTS OF VOL. II

CHAPTERS

	<i>PAGE</i>
I On Matters Economical and Industrial 	1
II. Historical and other Works ...	33
III The Fellow Graduates of Mr. Ranade 	83
IV. The Closing Career of Mr. Ranade in Bombay ...	110
V. Conclusion 	164
Appendix 	212

CHAPTER I.

ON MATTERS ECONOMICAL AND INDUSTRIAL

THE opinions of Mr Ranade on Political Economy, viewed in connection with the economical state of India and the necessity of reviving the decaying Indian arts and industries, can be gathered from his characteristic lecture on Indian Political Economy delivered before the Deccan College Union on the 30th July, 1892, and published in the Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha for October 1892 (Vol \V, No 2), his Lecture on Indian Manufactures and their Outlook, delivered at the Poona Industrial Conference, and published in the same Journal (Vol \VII, No 2), and his articles on the Industrial Conference and Netherlands India and the Culture System which respectively appeared in the same Journal in Nos 3 and 4, Vol \II

In considering his lecture on Indian Political Economy it may appear at first sight that his views on this subject are those of a protectionist, embodying the reaction that has set in against the Ricardian Theory of wealth. But in reality he was not a protectionist in the ordinary acceptation of the term, as it will be

seen from his lecture in question that all he contended for was that Political Economy being a hypothetical science, its propositions are not based upon axiomatic truths like those of Euclid, and do not absolutely and universally hold good, like the latter, true in all climes and in all times. One cannot conceive a place or time where two straight lines can enclose a space. But he can well conceive a time or place where competition yields to custom, where buying cheap and selling dear is not the ruling principle of man, where altruistic principles in human nature are not overpowered by selfish ones, but act in full play in contrariety to the latter. Being a deductive science or one based upon certain assumptions, its conclusions are only true where those assumptions hold good, and are not counteracted by circumstances acting in a contrary direction. If this is the case, a wholesale or indiscriminate application of the doctrines of Political Economy to a society whose condition and circumstances forbid any such application, or can only allow it in a modified form, cannot fail to result in consequences disastrous to its material progress and well-being. This is the sum and substance of what Mr. Ranade has dwelt upon in his lecture under notice. Let us now consider how he has made good his position in somewhat fuller details, as they have a bearing upon questions affecting the material prosperity of India.

A distinguished member of the Bombay Civil Service now retired but holding the high and important office of Secretary at the India Office (Sir W Lee Warner, K C S I), in a lecture on the Influence of Nature on Literature and Politics, dwelt on the necessity of not forgetting that our growth in any department of human activity, such as politics, can only be in accordance with "our aptitudes and surroundings, and that we should be on our guard against precipitation and hothouse culture, which latter can never lead to beneficial results' This lesson taught by our teachers and statesmen to check our political aspirations is unfortunately, Mr Ranade in the lecture observed, forgotten by them when applying the doctrines of Political Economy to India If the Natives of India are not fit for representative institutions if they are not in a position to avail themselves of the doctrines preached by Milton, Locke Burke, Mill and Lord Macaulay and other advocates of Political liberty in England, can the principles of free trade without any modification or alteration be safely and advantageously (as regards the interests of India) adopted by the Government of the country in regulating its commercial policy "Of course," said Mr Ranade, "if Political Economy is a science of general and absolute truths like physics or astronomy the tendency noted above to push its principles to their logical conclusions in all times and places, even

when English statesmen halt midway in their practical application of these principles, is intelligible and may be even wise statesmanship. There can be no doubt that those who give effect to these principles honestly believe in the scientific and absolute character of these economical conclusions. But it is certainly a fair subject for consideration whether this belief is well founded. If in Politics and Social Science, time and place and circumstances, the endowments and aptitudes of men, their habits and customs, their laws and institutions, and their previous history have to be taken into account, it must be strange, indeed, if in the economical aspect of our life, one set of general principles must hold good everywhere for all time and place and for all stages of civilization " Had the principles of Political Economy been universally and absolutely true, they would have been eagerly followed at least in all the civilized countries of the world But this is far from being the case For, except in England, the principles of free trade have been honoured more in the breach than in the performance in almost all the civilized countries of Europe the United States of America and even the British Colonies What is the cause of this strange non realization of the dreams of Mill and Ricardo, Bright and Cobden regarding the universal prevalence of the doctrines of free trade? Is it not because the adoption of these principles

would not advance the material progress and prosperity of those countries, because there is something in their circumstances which forbids the free application of these doctrines to their commercial policy, because their circumstances are such as require a modification of these principles, before they can be safely acted upon? Even some economical writers and thinkers, such as Mr J S Mill freely admit the hypothetic nature of the science of Political Economy Mr Mill, in his preface to his Political Economy, says that "for practical purposes political economy is inseparably entertained with many other branches of social philosophy Except in matters of mere detail there are perhaps no practical questions even among those which approached nearest to the character of purely economical questions, which admit of being decided on economical premises alone" Mr Cairns and Mr Bagehot are even more positive than Mr Mill in pointing out the hypothetical character of the economic science Mr Sidgwick, Mr Chiff Leslie, Professor Jevons and others, quoted by Mr Ranade, dwelt upon the unreliability of its conclusions in all stages of society If it is not found advisable to act upon its doctrines in their entirety upon the Continent of Europe in the United States of America and the British Colonies, can they be advantageously adopted in India, which is more backward than any of those countries in all

the essentials of a civilized and prosperous nation? It will not be difficult to find an answer to this question when it is borne in mind that almost all the assumptions upon which the doctrines of Political Economy are based are not borne out by facts in this country. Mr Ranade thus succinctly enumerated these assumptions —

“(1) that national economy is essentially individualistic and has no separate or collective aspect, (2) that the individual or typical economical man has no desire but that of promoting his own self interest, or, at least, that this is his principal motive power, (3) that this self interest is best promoted by the largest production of wealth, i.e., articles with value in exchange with the least trouble, (4) that such pursuit of private gain by each individual promotes best the general good, (5) that the free and unlimited competition of individuals in the race and struggle of life is the only safe and natural regulator, (6) that all customary and State regulation is an encroachment on natural liberty, (7) that every individual knows best his interest, and has the capacity and desire of acting according to his knowledge, (8) that there is perfect freedom and equality in the power of contract between individuals and individuals, (9) that capital and labour are always free and ready to move from one employment to another where better remuneration is expected, (10) that there is a universal ten-

dency of profits and wages to seek a common level, (11) that population tends to outstrip the means of subsistence, (12) and that demand and supply always tend mutually to adjust each other' None of these assumptions, Mr. Ranade observed, are literally true of any country except, perhaps, England? If they do not hold good in their entirety in European countries except England, they are not even approximately true of India, when it is borne in mind that, in our country, the economical man is replaced by an individual whose status in life is determined by his family and caste, that the pursuit of wealth is not universally considered as the supreme end and aim of life, that competition is overruled by custom that capital and labour are not accustomed to move from one channel to another, that wages and profits are too fixed to adapt themselves to any change of circumstances, that freedom of contract has no full force owing to the utter ignorance and helplessness of one of the contracting parties, as in the case of illiterate peasants in their dealings with their shrewd saukars or creditors, that the growth of population is checked by famine and malarious diseases that production is stationary, &c

Where most of the assumptions of Political Economy or nearly all of them do not hold good, the adoption of the conclusions upon which they are based, by Government, in their policy, can not but result in consequences anything but

friendly to the progress of the country in its material prosperity. And this is, unhappily, found to be the case in India for the unrestricted adoption of the principles of free trade by Government in its commercial policy has well nigh destroyed the ancient industries of the country and reduced an overwhelming majority of the people to the dead level of agriculturists. For our industrial classes, with their rude and clumsy tools and antiquated processes of weaving cloth extracting oil or conducting any other industry, being utterly unable to compete with European manufactories aided by machinery and scientific modes of making goods, for which India was once famous have no resource left but to sink into agriculturists or day labourers. Thus, one by one almost all our industries have perished or are in a decaying state. And India presents the unseemly spectacle of a great country under the enlightened sway of one of the most civilized nations in the world, having almost all her manufacturing industries destroyed and a preponderating majority of her sons (more than one fourth of the population) reduced to the dead level of agriculturists or day labourers with an annual income of Rs 20 or Rs 27 (according to one of the Finance Ministers of India, Sir E. Baring, now Lord Cromer) or Rs 30 according to the present Viceroy (Lord Curzon) hardly sufficient to secure the bare necessities of life, far less to afford means of saving. The

new cotton and other industries springing up in Bombay, Calcutta, and a few other places, are like oases in the dreary deserts of agriculturists, calculated, indeed, to inspire hope for the future, but at present hardly appreciably relieving the general poverty of the people. But the prosperity of a nation depends upon the development of various arts and industries. If a country like India depends upon agriculture as its almost sole industry, it cannot but remain poor. For that industry, depending upon a precarious and uncertain rainfall is, besides, governed by the law of diminishing returns, according to which the more you cultivate the land the less produce it yields, and cannot afford employment to ever increasing numbers, as lands profitably cultivable are not indefinite in quantity. But it is contended by writers and speakers of the optimistic school of Indian Politics (such as the Strachey brothers, Sir M. Grant Duff, Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir Richard Temple and others) that the gloomy picture of the poverty of India drawn by our grand old man, the venerable Dadabhai Nowroji, Sir William Wedderburn and others, is not true to nature, when our expanding agriculture and trade, our increasing import of the precious metals, the continued growth and prosperity of certain industries, &c, are taken into consideration as they unmistakably point to the advancing prosperity of the country. But Mr. Ranade, in his article on the Industrial

Conference in the third number of the twelfth volume of the Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajinik Sabha, has shown that none of these things are any certain and unfailing indications of the growing prosperity of the country. The expansion of agriculture has been necessitated by the extinction of our manufacturing industries which compels an increasing number of the people to resort to the land as a means of subsistence, though the more they cling to it, the less does it yield, owing to the operation of the inexorable law alluded to above and the inability of the people to counteract it by means of improvements in production. The expansion of agriculture was then rightly characterized by Mr. Ranade as a doubtful benefit. Nearly the same may be said of the expansion of our foreign trade. Though our foreign trade has greatly expanded and is expanding yet, unfortunately it has not resulted in benefits corresponding to the expansion. "The only direct advantage of foreign trade," says Mr. Mill in his Political Economy, "consists in the imports.

. . . The vulgar theory disregards this benefit and deems the advantage of commerce in the ex

amounted to 101 crores and the latter only to 62 crores, excluding Government transactions (quoted from Mr. Ranade's Lecture on the Present State of Indian Manufactures, delivered before the 7th Industrial Conference at Poona, and published in the Quarterly Journal, Vol. 17, No. 2) The excess of exports over imports represents our economical loss in foreign transactions. The loss is chiefly attributable to the heavy tribute in the shape of home charges amounting to 30 crores of rupees we are required to pay to England on account of the cost of the India Office, the pensions of retired officers, the leave allowances of those in service, the price of military and other stores, the charges of the War Office, the interest on the British capital invested in India, the savings and remittances of British officers serving in this country, the profits of British merchants trading here, etc It is, indeed, said that we should not grudge the payment of this tribute to England, when we get an equivalent to it in the shape of good government and the development of the resources of our country. It will be sheer ingratitude to forget that India is enjoying perhaps the best Government which can be had under her present circumstances But the question for consideration is whether this good government cannot be conducted at a less cost, and cannot be less burdensome to the people, and cannot less encroach

Conference in the third number of the twelfth volume of the *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha*, has shown that none of these things are any certain and unfailing indications of the growing prosperity of the country. The expansion of agriculture has been necessitated by the extinction of our manufacturing industries which compels an increasing number of the people to resort to the land as a means of subsistence, though the more they cling to it, the less does it yield, owing to the operation of the inexorable law alluded to above and the inability of the people to counteract it by means of improvements in production. The expansion of agriculture was then rightly characterized by Mr. Ranade as a doubtful benefit. Nearly the same may be said of the expansion of our foreign trade. Though our foreign trade has greatly expanded and is expanding yet, unfortunately it has not resulted in benefits corresponding to the expansion. "The only direct advantage of foreign trade," says Mr. Mill in his *Political Economy*, "consists in the imports.

The vulgar theory disregards this benefit and deems the advantage of commerce in the exports; as if not what a country obtains, but what it parts with by its foreign trade was supposed to constitute the gain to it." Now our exports nearly double our imports. For instance, the trade returns of British India for 1892-93 show that out of 164 crores of exports and imports, the former

amounted to 101 crores and the latter only to 62 crores, excluding Government transactions (quoted from Mr Ranade's Lecture on the Present State of Indian Manufactures, delivered before the 7th Industrial Conference at Poona, and published in the Quarterly Journal, Vol. 17, No. 2) The excess of exports over imports represents our economical loss in foreign transactions. The loss is chiefly attributable to the heavy tribute in the shape of home charges amounting to 30 crores of rupees we are required to pay to England on account of the cost of the India Office, the pensions of retired officers, the leave allowances of those in service, the price of military and other stores, the charges of the War Office, the interest on the British capital invested in India, the savings and remittances of British officers serving in this country, the profits of British merchants trading here, etc It is, indeed, said that we should not grudge the payment of this tribute to England, when we get an equivalent to it in the shape of good government and the development of the resources of our country. It will be sheer ingratitude to forget that India is enjoying perhaps the best Government which can be had under her present circumstances But the question for consideration is whether this good government cannot be conducted at a less cost, and cannot be less burdensome to the people, and cannot less encroach

upon their scanty resources This question cannot but be answered in the affirmative when it is borne in mind that some of the home charges are pronounced as inequitable even by some of our ruling authorities, such as those incurred for satisfying the claims of the Treasury and the War Office in England, when the military expenditure is not unsusceptible of curtailment, if the authorities cease to undertake useless but costly transfrontier expeditions and to annex unproductive territories peopled by wild and turbulent tribes beyond our frontier, and when the civil expenditure can be lessened by utilizing the agency of qualified natives in the Government of the country to a degree not inconsistent with the efficiency of the public service or the safety of the empire

The increasing imports of the precious metals can hardly be considered as a sure and certain symptom of the prosperity of the country when the mercantile theory which considered money as the only wealth of a country has been exploded, when money can only be regarded in the light of capital when it is employed in conducting trade and any productive industry, and when it is realized that money is only a measure of wealth and not wealth itself, and is valuable only as a medium of exchange and a convenient token of the purchasing power of an individual It should be remarked that when our production is of a stationary character, or at least does

not increase in a way corresponding with the increase of the precious metals, much of these metals cannot be said to have been added to the capital of the country. The importation of gold is so small that it need hardly be taken into consideration at all. "As regards silver Mr Ranade observed 'nearly the whole of what we import goes to the mint to add to the currency of the country which does not necessarily connote any corresponding increase of working capital.

With regard to some industries started by European capitalists and conducted by them or their agents in this country they cannot be said to add much to its wealth. They afford no doubt scope for the employment of Indian labour but their profits are carried out of the country. They in fact, Mr Ranade said 'intensify the evils of absentee landlordism in taking away not only the rent of the land, but also the profits of enterprise, and add to our difficulties by compelling us to meet competition on our own soil and from within in addition to that from without. But it may be urged, on the other side that it would be better, of course, if you had the profit. But it is better to have the wages than nothing at all.

This deplorable result is arrived at in India by the indiscriminate adoption of the principles of Political Economy as propounded by Ricardo, Malthus Senior, James Mill, Torrens, M Culloch

and others. But a reaction against the extreme views of these economical writers has set in not only on the continent of Europe, but also in England. Mr. Ranade has mentioned the writers, who by their writings have fostered the reaction, such as Auguste Comte, who protested against the application of the name of science to the doctrines propounded by economical writers. Sismondi, who pointed out the mischievous tendencies of the *laissez faire* policy, which has resulted "in making the rich richer and the poor poorer. Dunoyer, according to whom 'liberty is not a mere negation of restraint, but a positive effort to increase the efficiency of labour in all its grades. the two American thinkers, Hamilton and Carey, the former of whom was one of the fathers of the American constitution and held that the doctrines of free trade are practical only if adopted by all nations, and the latter "asserted that protection was justified as being the only means by which the obstacles thrown in the way of the younger and less advanced communities by more advanced nations could be removed." The Italian economists of the modern period, such as Gioga and Ludovico, also advocate the policy of State regulation of industry. But the German professors, such as Muller, Raw, Kneys, Roscher, Hildebrand, Wagner, also quoted by Mr. Ranade, are more thorough-going advocates of this policy than any

of those applying the comparative method so advantageously used in philology and jurisprudence to the investigation of the principles of Political Economy, holding that the prosperity of a nation does not consist in the production of the greatest quantity of goods, 'but in the full and many sided development of all productive powers, and that it is the business of the State to counteract those influences which paralyse enterprising spirit in an agricultural country' Under the influence of these teachings, English Economists, such as Leslie and Jevons have begun to perceive that Political Economy is only a branch of Sociology, that its conclusions cannot but be modified by the doctrines of other branches of that science, that the selfish tendency of buying cheap and selling dear must be studied along with the altruistic motives of man, and that the universalism and perpetualism of their doctrines preached by old English Economists are far from being scientific and true Thus, a protest has been entered against the rigidity of the Ricardian School of Economists, not only in America, France, Germany and Italy, but in England itself, the home of the use and growth of the science of Political Economy This change of thoughts among economical thinkers has resulted in the replacement of the deductive method in the investigation of economical science, by the historical method, which tries to eliminate what is Uto-

pian in the theory of the wealth of nations by basing it not wholly and solely upon the selfish interests of an individual, but upon the welfare of the body politic of which he is a member, and makes a forecast of the future by considering the antecedents of a society. The new theory of the economic science aims at establishing the doctrine of relativity and thus freeing it from *a priori* conclusions which have hitherto characterized it.

Mr. Ranade next applied himself to the consideration of the bearing of this enlarged view of the economic science in its Indian aspects. What is the economical state of India? It is characterized by the predominance of status over contract, of combination over competition, of conservatism over liberalism or progressive habits of thought. Nature here affords particular facilities to the production of raw materials by means of a genial warm climate and a fertile soil. The redundancy of the population furnishes any number of labourers that may be required on easy terms. But the indolent habits and general ignorance of the people render their labour anything but effective, skilful, thrifty and steady. Their poverty, unenterprising character and conservative habits, could spare only scanty capital for carrying on manufacturing industries. The fierce competition of European countries and the unrestricted adoption of the principles of free trade by Government have

well nigh extinguished the varied industries for which they were once famous, and have compelled them to resort to agriculture as almost the only means of support left to them in the struggle of competition. But agriculture, conducted under the disadvantages of an uncertain rainfall and want of capital and skill, can hardly counteract the inexorable law of diminishing return. It cannot adequately repay the labour of the agriculturists and afford the means of subsistence to a majority of them throughout the year as observed above. The revival of manufacturers under the new conditions of improved appliances and skilled labour is but just begun. But the general characteristics of the industry carried on by the people are petty farming, retail dealing, and job working on borrowed capital. The absence of a landed gentry or a wealthy middle class has added to the misfortunes of the people, who are not noted for an eager desire to save and whose laws, institutions and religious ideals have accustomed them to a low standard of living, have led them to effect minute subdivisions of property, and have weakened the incentive to the eager desire of wealth and the accumulation of capital. The result of this state of things is stagnation, depression and poverty. 'The beam of light,' said Mr Ranade, "illuminating the prevailing darkness is the British Government, which is destined to dispel it and to infuse

life and a spirit of progress into our stagnant and decaying civilization and to raise us in the scale of civilized nations, provided it continues to be actuated with just and generous principles of not sacrificing the interest of India to those of any particular class of British traders or manufacturers or of any others does not remain contented with imparting to the inhabitants of this land the blessings of education peace order and the security of life and property, but tries to promote their material prosperity by the development of the natural resources of the country and the revival of its dying and decaying manufacturing industries

Mr Ranade next proceeded to point out the points of divergence between the orthodox doctrine and the recent enlarged views of Political Economy. According to the former the proper business of the inhabitants of the torrid zone is to produce raw materials and those of the temperate zone to convert them into useful goods. But there is no inevitable necessity compelling the former to the less profitable task of producing raw materials only when it is borne in mind that India lying mostly in the torrid zone was once the seat of skilful manufacturers that the products of her looms were unsurpassed for the delicacy and fineness of their texture and excited the envy of ancient Rome and mediæval Europe to such a degree as to induce them to resort to

prohibitive sumptuary laws for suppressing the Indian industries. It is not inconsistent with the natural fitness of things that the raw materials should be converted into goods at or near the place of their growth. On the contrary it cannot fail to be beneficial to the country which grows them, as it will save the double cost of transport, afford additional employment to its labouring population, and secure for it the profit of capital engaged in manufacturing them into goods. It is true there are peculiar facilities for manufacturing industries afforded by steam machinery and the abundance of coal and iron in the temperate zone, especially in England. But the creation of such facilities in a country like India, which produces raw materials and also coal and iron mines to a limited extent, is not an impossible task. The difficulties of the task must be faced if the resources of the country are to be developed and new industries are to be naturalized in it at all. For attaining this object the rules of free trade may be held in abeyance even in the opinion of the old economists such as Mr J S Mill. For he says in his *Principles of Political Economy*, "The only case in which on mere principles of political economy protecting duties can be defensible is when they are imposed temporarily, especially in young rising nations in hopes of naturalizing a foreign industry in itself perfectly suitable to the cir

cumstances of the country. Again, "A protecting duty continued for a reasonable time will sometimes be the least inconvenient mode in which the nation can tax itself for the support of such an experiment. But this can only be done in independent countries or in countries which are allowed a large share of independence in governing themselves, such as the British colonies. But it cannot be even dreamed of in a dependent country like India, whose Government does not interfere with the principles of free trade which will affect the interest of British manufacturers in the least degree, and thus displease the British constituencies, which are the ultimate arbiters of our destinies. However, it may at least be expected from our rulers that they should not hesitate to frustrate the attempts of British manufacturers and merchants to hamper our growing industries by imposing upon them restraints such as those implied in the factory legislation.

It should also be remarked that if India be confined mostly to the production of raw materials, it will be tantamount to the condemnation of its increasing millions of people to a state of perpetual poverty. For, if agricultural industry were slowly or mostly to engage their labour, it being governed by the law of diminishing return would not adequately repay it, especially when it is borne in mind that agriculture in some parts of the country has been

conducted under the unfavourable conditions of uncertain and variable rainfall, resulting in the visitation of periodical famines. Such visitations can only be guarded against, among other things, by due co-ordination of manifold forms of industrial activity which can afford employment to growing numbers and lead to the increase of their material prosperity.

Mr. Ranade next quoted the remark of Mr. Mill that no agriculture can be really productive which is divorced from a neighbouring non-agricultural market represented by thriving towns and cities, and in the absence of such near markets the next available substitute is a large export trade to foreign countries. But the work of a substitute, such as is contemplated by Mr. Mill, is hardly fitted to supply the wants of India. For what does the promiscuous ruralization of India mean? It means, said Mr. Ranade, "a loss of power, of intelligence and self-dependence, and is a distinctly retrograde movement" which cannot be sufficiently counteracted by the growth of sea-ports and small military or railway stations. The economic progress of a nation, which means its material prosperity, can never be effectual unless its urban population bears an increasing portion to its rural numbers. But, unfortunately, this is not the case in India. For its artisans have been compelled by Western competition to abandon their manufacturing

industries and to sink into the general mass of agriculturists and day-labourers. The evil may be partly remedied by the Government's abandoning the doctrines of *laissez faire* which have unfortunately swayed them to an extent injurious to the interests of the people, resorting to a regular system of colonization or migration from thickly to sparsely peopled parts of the country and imitating the example of ancient rulers of the country, who founded towns in desolate districts by attracting thereto the inhabitants of populous but poor regions by granting them liberal concessions. Conquest, consolidation and conciliation have done their useful work. What now remains to be done is colonization and the promotion of various manufacturing industries. It cannot be said that there is no outlet for our superfluous population when Africa, Australia, the West Indies, Burma, etc., cry for labour. If it is justifiable on the part of the State to construct railroads and canals, or subsidize their construction with borrowed money, to convey waste lands on the hills to European settlers on easy terms, it will not be impolitic to develop this policy on the lines adopted by the Government of the Dutch Netherlands, which patronize the industries that are allied to agriculture, such as oil pressing, sugar refining, and tobacco curing, and the like.

The theory of unearned increments does not hold good with regard to the law of rent in India. It may be applicable to a state of society, such as that of England, where, by the law of primogeniture, entails and settlements, estates remain in the possession of the same family from generation to generation. But it is out of place in a country like India where recurring subdivisions of family property and freedom from any restraints in the sale of land make such property constantly change hands, so that new purchasers who have paid the full value representing the advantages of superior production and vicinity cannot be said to have enjoyed any unearned increments. The other position of the Ricardian theory that rent does not enter into price, does not hold good in India, in most parts of which the occupants of lands pay to the State landlord, who has no competitors, monopoly rent which not unfrequently encroaches upon profits and wages, and thus, lowering their standard of living, places them in straitened circumstances. The ruinous competition for land among peasants themselves, who have no other industry left to make a living by, can only be checked by a fixity of tenure and by imposing restraints on the increase of rents. Attempts in this direction by Government cannot but be deemed justifiable on grounds which vindicates the interference of the State on behalf of factory

labourers and miners in Europe, and of poor indebted agriculturists in parts of India

Lastly, Mr Ranade has shown the necessity of the interference of the State in cases where the people cannot act for themselves. There are symptoms of a strong and decided reaction having set in against the prevailing *laissez faire* system which itself represents the reaction against the meddlesomeness of the mercantile system of the last century resulting in State control and guidance in cases in which men may be safely and advantageously left to exercise their own natural liberty and discretion. If too much interference with individual liberty and discretion is hurtful, the same must also be said of too much indifference as to what men can do in certain cases. The golden mean must be sought for and adhered to. The stage of *laissez faire* has been run through its utmost extent in England. Men have now begun to ask whether the let alone policy can be advantageously followed in all cases, and whether it is not capable of modification in the direction of State control and legislative interference for the benefit of certain classes. The recent factory legislation, the poor law system, the qualified recognition of trades unions and the Irish land settlement are quoted by Mr Ranade as instances of a change of view in England. If even in England the *laissez faire* policy cannot be followed

in its entirety or without modification in each and every case, the same must be said with greater force of India, where society has not much advanced from the primitive stage of industrial progress. What Mr. Ranade has insisted upon is to adopt the good points of the mercantile system and to leave its defects and absurdities behind, so that the assistance of the State may be rendered in cases where individual efforts fail to attain what can only be achieved by the action of Government such, for instance, as the Post Office, Telegraph, the pioneering of new enterprises, the insurance of risky undertakings and the like. Such functions as these are beneficially discharged by the State. And it is more incumbent upon the State in India than in civilized countries to undertake such duties, as it claims to be the sole landlord, is decidedly the largest capitalist in the country and is the representative of one of the most enlightened and advanced nations of the world, and can therefore infuse the spirit of progress into our stagnant and decaying civilization and effect our regeneration in the different departments of human activity. It must be admitted with thankfulness that the State has done much not only in the province of education in its different aspects, but also in the development of the material resources of the country by patronizing the working of coal and

iron mines, tea and coffee plantations, the growth of the different species of cotton, &c, still much remains to be done in the way of pioneering new industrial enterprize by lending its support and guidance, which is not essentially different from guaranteeing minimum interest to railway companies, by building up national and not merely State credit on broad foundations so as to accustom the people to receive the benefits of a largely ramified banking system, and by utilizing indigenous resources and organizing them in a way to produce in State factories all products of skill which the State departments require in the way of stores. These are only a few of the many directions in which far more than *in exchange and frontier difficulties* the highest statesmanship will have a field all its own for consideration and action. They will no doubt receive such consideration if only the minds of the rulers were thoroughly freed from the fear of offending the so called maxims of 'rigid economic science'. After thus pointing out some of the directions in which Mr Ranade called upon our rulers to employ their talents and energies for developing the untold resources of India and improving material and economic conditions, he concluded his able lecture by quoting the opinions of the following Anglo-Indian thinkers of note—Mr S Laing some time Finance Minister to the Government of

India, Sir William Wilson Hunter and the late Sir Maxwell Melvill, senior member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, on the evils of the present *laissez faire* policy of the Government of India. It will be seen from the expressions of opinion of these thinkers that they bear out the contention of Mr Ranade that free trade is not all in all in every land and every country. For Mr. S. Laing says "When Sir Robert Peel, some forty years ago, announced his conversion by the unadorned eloquence of Richard Cobden, and free trade was inaugurated, with results which were attended with the most brilliant success, every one expected that the conversion of the rest of the world was only a question of time, and that a short time Few would have been found bold enough to predict that forty years later England would stand almost alone in the world in adherence to free trade principles, and that the protectionist heresy would not only be strengthened and confirmed among continental nations, such as France and Germany, but actually adopted by large and increasing majorities in the United States, Canada, Australia and other English-speaking communities Yet such are the actual facts at the present day. In spite of the Cobden Club and of arguments which to the average English mind appeared irresistible, free trade has been steadily losing ground for the

last twenty years, and nation after nation, colony after colony, sees its protectionist majority increasing and its free trade minority dwindling '.

In his article on the Industrial Conference, which appeared in the *Sarvajanik Journal* for January 1890 (Vol. VII, No. 3), Mr. Ranade has elaborately shown by means of statistical details how the industries of India have suffered through the fierce competition of European countries, the indifferentism of Government in the matter of reviving, rallying or supporting them, and the backward condition of the people to retrieve their position, and suggests remedies for improving this deplorable state of things. The articles open with the following characteristic remarks on the economic condition of India —

'Next, if next at all, to the political and military questions of the day, the most momentous question that is occupying the minds of all thinking men is the question of Industrial Reform. It is a sad reflection that, though gifted by the bounty of nature with a wealth of material resources which is inexhaustible and unsurpassed, if not unequalled and though placed under the blessings of Providence, in circumstances the most favourable to material progress, the economic condition of India under British rule is what it should not be, and is

going from bad to worse. There is a deep and deepening poverty all over the land such as the world has never before seen on so vast a scale. In good years there is not much of actual want, distress or destitution, except in such congested districts as those of Behar, but as no reliance can be placed on an unbroken succession of good seasons, and famine and scarcity recur more frequently than before, there is always present in some part of the country or other the risk of the people over vast areas sinking, in the event of a failure of the rains, into a condition almost verging on starvation and suffering." In short, the characteristics of this lamentable economic condition of India are in the words of Mr Ranade, "(1) acute, widespread, growing poverty all over the country, (2) increasingly severe distress among the lower classes, and (3) absence of economic staying power among the masses." Lord Dufferin, in his famous St Andrew speech delivered at Calcutta on the eve of his retirement, confessed the inability of the State to grapple with economic difficulties of such vast magnitude alone and unaided, and called upon the Indian National Congress to turn its attention to this momentous question so as to achieve what can only be done by corporate efforts. Mr Ranade was one of

the very few who responded to the call and urged the necessity of holding an industrial conference simultaneously with the annual meeting of the Congress in December to the leaders of the Congress

But though they have expressed their sympathy with, and approval of, the suggestion, yet their attention being almost wholly absorbed by political questions, they as yet have not acted upon the suggestion. Mr Ranade, however, perceiving the urgent necessity of investigating and discussing the industrial problem, founded, with the aid of some promoters of this movement, the Industrial Association at Poona in May 1890, since then the Conference was held at Poona every year in the rainy season for some years, when papers were read on economic subjects, and products of indigenous art and industry were exhibited. In a speech which he delivered at the opening of the Conference, and which is published in the *Sarvajanik Journal* for April, 1890 (Vol XII, No 4), he pointed out the objects to which the attention of the Conference should be directed. After reminding his audience to realize our exact position, *i.e.*, first, our phenomenal poverty, and secondly, our growing dependence on the single and precarious resources of agriculture he proceeded to say "We must strive to correct it with a full sense that we cannot do all that we wish in a single year or a decade, and that

&c, and the like. When we consider the patriarchal character of the Government of India and the backward condition of the people interfering with their taking any initiative on a large scale even in matters affecting their own interests, the State may be reasonably and justly called upon to lend its helping hand in encouraging and fostering industries in the direction pointed out in Mr Ranade's speech.

The contributions of Mr Ranade to the deliberations of the Poona Industrial Conference mentioned above are his articles on the Netherlands and the culture system published in the *Sarvajanik Journal* for April, 1890 (Vol VII No 4) and on the present state of Indian manufactures and outlook of the same read at the Session of the 7th Industrial Conference and published in the same Journal for October, 1894 (Vol XVII No 2). It is difficult to notice each of these articles in detail without expanding this chapter to an undue length. It is besides hardly necessary to do it as his views on the economic condition of India as embodied in his *Lecture on Indian Political Economy*, have been already set forth above.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORICAL AND OTHER WORKS OF MR. RANADE

THE "Rise of the Maratha Power," published in the closing year of the nineteenth century is perhaps the best work of Mr. Ranade, displaying his uncommon powers of original thinking, acute observation and minute research, and will, in the opinion of the writer of this sketch, add to his reputation as one of the master minds which the latter half of the last century produced in the Bombay Presidency. It will go a great way in removing the not unfounded reproach that our graduates, under-graduates, or any other writers have as yet produced no original historical work of any considerable merit and will redeem the national defect in the matter of historical writing. It is a masterly exposition of the causes of the Rise of the Maratha Power under the great Maratha leader Shivaji and his successors in the 17th and 18th centuries, expressed in a fluent and vigorous diction approaching in places to stirring eloquence. It does not deal with the details of the political history of the country to which the attention of Indian historians has generally been confined, presup-

posing, as it does, the reader's acquaintance with the main facts of Maratha History, and only seeking to suggest and enforce its lessons.

"It professes to present to the English and Indian reader a bird's eye view of the history of the rise and progress of the Maratha confederacy, which for one hundred years at least occupied the foremost place among the native rulers of the country" It does what no other historian of Maharashtra (not even Mr. Grant Duff) with the exception of Dr R G Bhandarkar, in his early History of the Deccan has done, *viz*, it gives an account of the social and religious condition of the people during the time to which it relates, which circumstance gives it an unique importance which cannot be claimed by ordinary Maratha histories It has clearly shewn that a mere freebooting and plundering power cannot rise to any great importance lasting for more than a century; and that had Shivaji and his successors been mere plunderers and adventurers, and "succeeded because they were the most cunning and adventurous among those who helped to dismember the Mogul Empire after the death of Aurangzeb," they would not have attained imperial supremacy over the continent of India for such a long period of time There is, says Mr. Ranade, a moral significance in the rise of the Maratha Power overlooked not only by Mahomedan but even by English historians For the Mara-

the leaders established their supremacy not simply during the anarchic and disintegrating process of the dismemberment and dissolution of the Mogul Empire after the death of Aurangzeb, but during the zenith of the power of that great Emperor Shivaji, laid the foundation of the Maratha confederacy, bore the brunt of Mogul armies, and baffled the efforts of Mogul generals who, wielding the matchless resources of a great power, were sent to crush him. The secret of the ultimate success of Shivaji and his successors lay in a national force which had been agitating the Maratha nation from a time long anterior to the advent of Aurangzeb upon the political scene, and gathered immense strength during his reign and found vent in the genius of Shivaji. That force was a religious and social upheaval which agitated the entire Maratha nation just as in Europe towards the close of the Middle Ages the Revival of Letters and the Reformation of Religion stirred the European nationalities to their innermost depths.

The first chapter of Mr Ranade's history is devoted to the elucidation of the principles underlying the Revolution which was taking place in Maharashtra in the time of Shivaji. The aspect of the Revolution was political. But it was based upon a social and religious "upheaval of the whole population, strongly bound together by the affinities of language,

race, religion and literature, and seeking further solidarity by common independent political existence." The upheaval was not caused by the persecuting bigotry of Aurangzeb, but was strengthened and intensified by it. For it had been going on and gathering strength slowly but surely in the preceding two or three centuries. The smouldering fire in the nation was kindled by the thoughtless and exasperating persecution of Aurangzeb into a flame which ultimately enveloped the Mogu Empire with destructive effect on every side, and resulted in replacing it by a Maratha power which controlled the destinies of India over a century and yielded only to the supremacy of Britain. The moral force agitating the nation was at first mainly religious, but soon assumed other aspects—political, social and literary. It became, in fact, a many-sided revival, headed by our saints, prophets, philosophers and poets, such as Dnyaneshwar, who first gave it an impetus so early as the 13th century, Tukaram, Ramdas, and Waman Pandit, who were contemporaries of Shivaji, whose names are still held in reverence by the people of Maharashtra, and whose writings still exercise a predominant influence over them, and afford them solace and hope during the trials and troubles of life. The political aspect was represented by Shivaji, his compeers and successors,

The saints and prophets of Maharashtra, like the leaders of the Protestant Reformation and of the revival of letters in Europe, wrote in the vernacular of the country, enriched it with a literature almost classical in its elevating tone, soul stirring spirit and cultured diction, made it, instead of Sanskrit, the medium of prayer and praise, protested against the empty, lifeless formalities and ritualism of orthodox Brahmanism and the unmeaning distinctions of caste, and preferred a pure and loving heart and a simple faith to the forms and ceremonies of the prevailing religion. The political leaders did not stand aloof from the movement, but allowed themselves to be influenced and guided by it. They were inspired by the teachings and preachings of our prophets and saints. Shivaji chose one of these, Ramdas, as his spiritual *guru* or preceptor, and embraced every opportunity of attending the "Kirtans" or religious discourses of Tukaram. Bajirao I, the greatest of the Peshwas, was inspired in all his actions by Brahmendra Swami, the saint of Dhavads. Though the leaders were influenced by the religious movement, yet they in their turn, exercised decided influence upon it. They gave it a political direction. Availing themselves of the enthusiasm and fervour it kindled in the nation, they led their countrymen in spite of almost insurmountable difficulties, from conquest to conquest, to

the bank of the Indus in the west, to that of the Hughli in the east, and of the Tungabhadra in the south, and to the foot of the snow clad Himalayas in the north. A mere freebooter and a plunderer, however enterprising and daring, could not have laid the foundation of a powerful kingdom and could not have thought out a sagacious scheme of civil government by means of *Ashtha Pradhan*, or eight ministers, which can well bear the test of modern criticism, nor could his successors have sustained and enlarged that kingdom without being backed by a great moral or religious force.

Shivaji's council of eight ministers denoted the character and nature of the Maratha power, consisting of confederated states. It was necessary for such a power to invoke the assistance of the heads of the confederated states in carrying on the government. Shivaji, falling in with the national tendency to confederation, devised a scheme of administration by means of eight ministers, which, says Mr Ranade, 'was at once the strength and weakness of the Maratha Power. So long as the central authority was strong, as under Shivaji, so long as it could coerce the confederate leaders into carrying out a common purpose and acting in accordance with a central idea, it was irresistible. But as soon as the former manifested any weakness, the latter were carried away by a centrifugal force, and caring only for their individual

interests, established separate kingdoms to the detriment of a great homogeneous national empire. This is the purport of the first chapter of Mr Ranade's interesting history.

A writer in a Poona Journal, professing to criticise Mr Ranade's History from what the editor of that paper calls the orthodox view of the Maratha History, questions the originality of Shivaji's scheme of government by means of a council of Ashtha-Pradhans, on the strength of a casual statement made in the life of that hero, written by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, "that the scheme of the cabinet and its functions was settled by Shivaji in conformity with previous practice and traditions" (Mr. Telang's Gleanings of Maratha Chronicles forming the last chapter of the 1st volume of Mr. Ranade's History, p 261). But whatever is stated in the work of Chitnis or any other writer cannot be accepted for truth without inquiring into its evidentiary value, without weighing the evidence for it, if there be any, and without considering the probabilities of the case. The writer in question may be presumed to have some knowledge of Maratha History,—can he find in that history an institution like that of Ashtha Pradhans at any time before Shivaji? If he cannot, what is the use of lending countenance to an unfounded assertion? Had the writer extended his reading to Mr. Telang's foot-note on this

subject, he would have found that a Mahomedan writer of the last century had made a similarly baseless allegation by asserting that Shivaji had borrowed the scheme from the Mussalmans, when, as a matter of fact, they had devised nothing of the kind, as remarked by Mr Telang

The writer also finds fault with Mr Ranade for instituting a comparison between the Ashtha Pradhan Council and the Executive Council of the Governor General, on the ground that all members of his council are not appointed by the latter. By this it is to be hoped that the writer does not mean that the Viceroy has nothing to do with the appointment of the members of his council. For with the exception of the appointment of the Commander in chief, the Legal member and the Finance Minister, the Viceroy appoints or nominates all other members of his council, subject, of course, to the approval of the Secretary of State for India. But the latter seldom refuses to accord his sanction to the nomination made by the former. The matter of the appointment of councillors, however, is hardly of much importance in determining the suitability of the comparison between the two systems of administration. The councillors were appointed by Shivaji in Maharashtra, and they are appointed by the Viceroy or the Secretary of State for India. But in neither

case did the appointments rest with the people in England or India. The question is whether there is any similarity in the functions, respectively discharged by the Ashtha Pradhans and members of the Viceregal Council, in the authority possessed by them and in the control exercised over them in one case by Shivaji and in the other by the Viceroy. If there be any, the futility of the writer's objections to the comparison will be evident. The only lamentable circumstance connected with the Ashtha Pradhan Council was that the control exercised over it by the central authority was not a fixed invariable quantity, as in British India, but it varied with the nature of the ruler. If the balance between the authority of the central power and that of the council had been kept up by the successors of Shivaji as it was by him, if none of them had overleaped their respective spheres of action, the Marathas would have enjoyed a well ordered or systematic form of government, as they happily do at present.

The writer asserts that the mode of government introduced by Shivaji could not possibly have lasted long in India, but the fact that it lasted during his reign shows that there is nothing impossible in the nature of things rendering the existence of this system of government in this country impossible. It only presupposes the

rule of a powerful, sagacious and unselfish king like Shivaji

The writer also thinks he has detected a glaring inconsistency between the remark of Mr. Ranade at p 27 "If this system could have been logically carried out by the successors of Shivaji, as it was originally conceived and worked out by Shivaji himself, many of the dangers which ultimately destroyed the Maratha confederacy might have been avoided, and that at page 208 to the following effect "Moreover, the council might work well for a small kingdom confined within narrow limits, but when in consequence of the war, the Marathas spread over the country from the Narmada to the Kaveri, and the leaders were holding possessions in detached places, surrounded by the entire power of the Moguls, these conditions of success were greatly wanting, and the Ashta Pradhan arrangement naturally broke down But here, too, it is not the case that Homer nods, it is the critic that dreams For a careful consideration of Mr Ranade's remark would lead an impartial reader to suppose that all he meant thereby is that the system could not be well introduced into newly acquired territories which required a rough sort of military administration, and any attempt to do so would end in failure, just as in British India, what are called the non regulation provinces are brought under the ordinary system

of government prevalent in the old regulated provinces, only when they are settled and made fit to receive it. But when the newly acquired territories were settled and regulated, there was nothing in the Ashtha Pradhan system of government which prohibited its application to them.

The writer also finds fault with Mr Ranade for attributing to Shivaji patriotism, to which, according to him, he was foreign, alleging that no such thing as patriotism existed in India up to very recently. Now, what is patriotism? According to the writer himself it is love of the country in which we live or of the community to which we belong. The latter part of the definition is not free from objection, for if by community, he means the caste or sect to which we belong, it is too narrow to be accepted. If, however, he means by it all the people inhabiting a particular country, it may pass muster. Now what is meant by the love of the country? It does not simply mean the land we live in, but it includes also its institutions and its people. Cannot he who intensely loved his native land, who fought with all his might to free it from an oppressive Mahomedan yoke, to rescue its religion from persecution, and to raise his countrymen's status from that of hewers of wood and drawers of water to that of conquerors and administrators be called a patriot? Cannot

this be said also of that band of heroic Marathas who after the cruel execution of Sambhaji by Aurangzeb fought for the restoration of the "Swaraj" of Shivaji when it seemed that it was irrecoverably lost, with scanty means but with hearts full of martial patriotism? Is it not thickheadedness which would deny the appellation of patriots to them?

The writer also remarks that while Mr. Ranade glorifies these patriots in the chapter on Ginja, he in the next chapter describes them as usurping the territories they occupied. He is perhaps not aware of the sagacious observation of Dr Johnson in *Rasselas* that inconsistencies cannot be true, but applied to man they may be true. If after being elated by success they thought of setting up as independent princes, that circumstance does not lessen our admiration of them for the single heartedness and heroic patriotism with which they strove for the recovery of the shattered kingdom of Shivaji. Their future conduct may not show them to have been always and uniformly actuated by patriotic motives. But was Cromwell never patriotic because after achieving success, perhaps undreamed of even by himself, over the adherents of arbitrary power, he aspired to be the sole independent ruler of England?

The writer thinks that Mr. Ranade, while attributing to Shivaji qualities which he did

not possess, such as patriotism and a talent for devising a wise scheme of administration, lowers his social status by questioning his descent from a royal Rajput family. It will, however, be seen from what is stated above that the first portion of the charge is unfounded. The second part must also be pronounced to be equally so. For to tell the truth regarding the descent of Shivaji is not to lower his status. It will be observed from Mr Telang's *Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles* that he came to the conclusion regarding the apocryphal nature of Shivaji's descent from a Rajput family, after carefully considering all the authorities for and against the supposition with that judicial acumen and fairness for which he was distinguished. Was Mr Ranade, then, wrong in adopting that conclusion simply because it tended to divest the hero of Maratha history of a high royal descent? Those who think so cannot be said to have any keen regard for truth.

The writer also pronounces the view taken by the late Mr Telang regarding the progressive nature of the Peshwa's rule as a perfect illusion. This criticism of a conclusion arrived at after considering all the available authorities for it by one of the ablest judges and scholars which the Bombay University has produced, reminds one of the famous criticism of the *Edinburgh Reviewer* (Jeffreys) on Wordsworth's greatest poetical work, the *Excursion*, to

the effect that it will not do if one may compare small things with great. The shade of Mr Telang, however, will not be perturbed in the least by this adverse pronouncement on his scholarly performance by an anonymous, obscure, and judging from his writing not an overlearned writer in a Poona Journal.

The volume is not altogether free from a few slips of the pen, such as those noticed by the writer in question. But the following mentioned by him "Further acts of spoliation were removed" (p 251) is certainly not one of these. For what we have really in the original is this "further acts of spoliation were renewed" (p 251) which is certainly not an inaccuracy. But those that are really inaccuracies and that have unfortunately escaped the attention of the reviser of the proof sheets, such as the "fifteenth for thirteenth century" (p 171) will, it is to be hoped, be corrected in the next edition of the work. But these inaccuracies, few in number, do not much detract from the merits of the work, as a well reasoned and philosophic history of the rise of the Maratha Power, fluent in language, abounding in passages of real eloquence, and bearing unmistakable marks of original thought and research.

The second chapter of Mr Rynade's history shows how the ground for the rise of the Maratha Power was prepared. He does not, like Grant Duff ascribe it to fortuitous circum-

stances, but to deep-rooted causes working even before the Mahomedan conquest of the Deccan. To trace these causes he proves for determination these questions: "Why the first successful attempt to throw off the Mahomedan yoke was made in Western India, and what were the circumstances in the nature of the country, in the habits and institutions of the people inhabiting it, which favoured such an attempt and rewarded it with success." The natural features of Maharashtra, intersected by the Sayadri, the Satpura and the Vindhya ranges, together with their numerous offshoots, have given it the appearance of a mountainous country especially towards the west, and afford facilities to the inhabitants, strengthened by the bracing mountain air, to effectually oppose the progress of invaders and to carry on a guerilla warfare, in which they always excelled. The numerous hill-forts overtopping mountain ranges enabled them, under valiant and dexterous leaders, to defy even the regular armies of the Mogul Emperors in an age when mountain batteries were unknown. The inhabitants possessing the characteristics of the dwellers on high lands, being hardy and brave, and being a mixture of the Aryans of the north and the Dravidians of the south, have inherited the good qualities of both the races and eliminated the respective defects from their character. Their institutions and religion have partaken of the character

of their mixed origin and show a compromise between the Aryan and Dravidian elements, and a harmonious and equable combination of the two. Thus the religion of the Marathas has been distinguished for its comparative freedom from the intolerance, gross bigotry and deadly sectarian dissensions which mark the forms of Hinduism prevailing in the north and south of India. The village community with the "panchayat" system, the ryotwari tenure of land, the Deshmukhs and the Deshpandes represented the popular and kingly elements in Maratha institutions. But the former soon predominated over the latter and cast them aside. To the natural features of the country, favouring the growth of a hardy and valiant race, and to the character of the people and their institutions, Mr. Ranade justly attributes the developments of local autonomy and independence which made the continuation of the rule of one centralized power impossible or extremely difficult from the earliest times, from the time of Shalihavan or Shatawahan who is said to have repelled an attack of Scythian invaders, and to have been the author of the present Maharashtra Era, the Shalivan Shak. In early times, before the advent of the Mahomedans, the country of the Marathas was divided into small independent kingdoms or principalities. The Mahomedans took a long time in subjugating the Hindu powers in the

plains. The Western Maharashtra, consisting of the Ghatmathats or the tops of the Ghats, and the Konkan, were never completely subdued by them at all. Even when the Mahomedan kingdoms were established in the plains of Maharashtra, many Marathas were employed to hold civil and military offices under those Governments, such as the grandfather and the father of Shivaji. Thus the Marathas were gradually trained in the art of government, and not only served in, but also commanded armies and the nation was prepared to establish and maintain a great kingdom even before Shivaji was born. The merit of the latter consisted in uniting into one confederacy the elements of power that lay scattered through the country in the name of a common religion which was endangered by the bigotry of Aurangzeb and of a common national cause. "He," (Shivaji) says Mr. Ranade, "did not create the Maratha power; that power had been already created, though scattered in small centres all over the country. He sought to unite it for a higher purpose by directing it against the common danger. This was his chief merit and his chief service to the country, and in this consists his chief claim upon the grateful remembrance of his people."

The third chapter shows how the seed was sown in the ground which had been prepared for it

for more than three centuries, as described in the first two chapters. The kingdom of Ahmednugur had already disappeared from the political scene in spite of the heroic efforts of the noble Queen (Chandbibī) to save the Raj of her fathers from the arms of the Moguls. But the kingdom of her husband (Bijapur) was saved a similar fate though only for a short time. For the reigning King of Bijapur could only save it from destruction by consenting to an ignominious treaty with the Moguls. The same must also be said of the kingdom of Golkonda, the remaining kingdoms of Berar and Bedar having been already absorbed in the Mogul Empire. The Portuguese power was rapidly becoming a shadow of its former self, and a speck, destined to be developed into a huge cloud spreading over the whole Indian sky and showering blessings of peace, good government, education and progressive civilization upon the land, was just beginning to loom on the horizon in the shape of an English factory established at Surat. Such was the political state of things when Shivaji appeared upon the scene to fight for sovereign power in the land. Really speaking, he had to contend with the forces of the kingdom of Bijapur, then in a declining state, and of the Mogul Empire, then in the plenitude of its power, wielded by one of the ablest Emperors who ever sat upon the throne of Delhi. He disposed of the former

without much effort. But it required all the resources of his fertile mind and undaunted spirit before he could make any appreciable impression upon the latter. He at length, however, succeeded in gaining his object, though not to the extent he desired. For even Aurangzeb ultimately found it desirable to acknowledge him as a king. For achieving this stupendous task Shivaji had not only the aid of his splendid talents and adventurous and fearless spirit, but what he thought or felt to be divine impulses. For he thought he was impelled by the inspiration of his tutelary deity Bhawani to whatever he projected, and was therefore found to succeed, just as his great contemporary Oliver Cromwell considered himself to be commissioned by the Lord of Hosts to free his native land from the hated presence of the followers of the King, the Pope or the Bishop. Both succeeded in gaining their objects not only by their splendid abilities, but also by the religious enthusiasm with which they were animated and which they communicated to their followers. Mr. Ranade thus graphically enumerates the qualities of head and heart which Shivaji brought to bear upon his task. "Religious fervour almost at white heat, bordering on the verge of self-abnegation, a daring and adventurous spirit born of a confidence that a higher power than man's protected him and his work, magnetism of superior genius, which binds men together and leads

them to victory, a rare insight into the real needs of the times and a steadfastness of purpose which no adverse turn of fortune could conquer, a readiness and resourcefulness rarely met with either in European or Indian history, true patriotism, which was far in advance of the times, and a sense of justice tempered with mercy,—these were the sources of the strength that enabled Shivaji to sow the seeds of a power which accomplished, in the hands of his successors, all that he had planned out, and enabled his race to write a chapter in Indian history to some purpose "

In the fourth chapter Mr Ranade shows how the seed sown by Shivaji thrived. Fortunately the soil was congenial in which it was sown, and Shivaji steadily assisted its growth. For Shivaji found himself surrounded by fellow workers of superior abilities, of whom life like sketches are given in this chapter along with that of his mother Gijabai, who appears to have been a lady of remarkable abilities and to have been his guiding spirit in all his undertakings, animating him with enthusiasm in moments of depression and despair. Next to Gijabai, Dadoji Kondev, who was his guardian during his minority and also the manager of his father's estate in the Poona District, did much in influencing his mind for good, restraining his wild nature and subjecting him to a course of much needed discipline. The chosen companions of

his boyhood and manhood were Yesaji Kank, Tanaji Malusare and Bajji Fasalker, as adventurous, as daring, and as valorous as himself. Their number soon increased by the addition of other Mavli leaders. But the followers of Shivaji were selected not only from the Marathas of Maval district on or about the Sayandhri range, but also from Brahmins and Prabhus, from the Konkan and the Desh. The representatives of the former caste were Abaji Sunder, the Pingles (father and son), the Hanmantes (father and son), Annaji Datto, Miraji Pandit and others, those of the latter were the two celebrated Bajis, Balaji Abaji Chitnis and others. The representatives of those two upper castes acted both as civil officers and military commanders. All these were the trusted followers of Shivaji, the charm of whose personality exercised a wonderful influence over them, and made them ready even to lay down their lives (in some cases they did it gladly) for his sake and for the furtherance of the cause he fought for, thus affording another instance of great military commanders, like Julius Cæsar, Napoleon Bonaparte, Lord Clive and others, attracting followers to follow them most willingly even in their most hazardous undertakings.

The fifth chapter of Mr. Ranade's history, entitled "The Tree Blossoms," deals with the commencement of the active career of Shivaji, beginning with the capture of the fort of

Torna in 1646, when he was only 19 years of age, and ending prematurely with his death in 1680. His active career, extending over 34 years, has been divided by Mr Ranade into four periods of unequal duration. In the first period extending over 6 years he made himself master of the hill forts and the Mavals about Poona. This was a preliminary step necessary for his entering into conflict with the King of Bijapur and the Mogul Emperor. The conflict with the former, forming the second period, lasted over ten years. At the end of the period he found himself strong and successful enough to dictate his own terms of peace to the King of Bijapur, and in possession of a large tract of territory mostly sliced off from the kingdom of the latter.

But he had a harder and tougher task to perform in dealing with the Mogul power with which he came in contact in consequence of his success over the King of Bijapur. The struggle with the Mogul empire forms the third period of his career, commencing with 1662 and ending with 1672. For the Mogul forces were more numerous, better commanded, better armed and better trained and disciplined than those of Bijapur. In spite of his varied success in combating with those armies, he, however, found himself, at the end of the period, recognized by the Emperor of Delhi as the head of the newly established Maratha power. After this recognition of his power by

the Mogul Government, he was crowned King of the Marathas with all the solemnities and ceremonies prescribed by the Hindu Shastras for such an occasion in 1774, from which year commenced the fourth and last period of his career ending with his death in 1780

The second and third periods of his career are full of thrilling and momentous events in his life which are graphically described by Mr Ranade Only the most prominent of which can only be mentioned here.

The stratagem by which he defeated the powerful army that was sent by the King of Bijapur under the command of the celebrated Afzul Khan to conquer him is variously viewed by the Mahomedan historians whom the European historians have followed, and by the Maratha chroniclers, the former pronouncing it to be a deed of deliberate treachery and the latter regarding it as justifiable act, resorted to in self defence to countermine the intended treachery of Afzul Khan

To avoid this contingency, Shivaji had armed himself with the celebrated "Waghnaikh" (tiger's claws) and the well known sword, named after his tutelary deity Bhawani, dexterously concealed under his dress before he went to the famous interview with Afzul Khan When the signs of treachery, it is said, on the part of the latter were manifested, the former resorted to the weapons secreted in his garment

and plunged them into the bowels of the Khan with fatal effect. Thereupon the Bijapur army disheartened by the sudden death of their leader, was easily routed and dispersed by Shivaji, who thus averted the danger which appeared to threaten him and his kingdom with destruction. Even granting that treachery in this transaction was wholly on his side it must not be forgotten that the principle that the end justified the means was an accepted maxim in statecraft in his time, and that he did nothing against the spirit of the age, when any thing, however ignoble or mean, was considered as fair in war, and when both Mahomedans and Hindus unscrupulously resorted to means, however immoral they might be, for attaining their objects. Witness, for instance, the conduct of the wily Aurangzeb in treacherously imprisoning Shivaji when he was invited to attend his court for a friendly visit. Judging by the standard of morality prevailing in highly civilized countries in the present time, the conduct of Shivaji, on the supposition that treachery was wholly on his side, may appear unjustifiable. But, in fairness, he must be judged by the standard of morality which prevailed in his age. When this is done, his conduct will not appear particularly reprehensible, though one cannot but lament the low and backward state of morals in his time.

The third period of Shivaji's career, com

encing with 1662, is characterised by struggles with the Mogul power. Though he defeated Shahistekhan, the Mogul commander, who first led an army into the Maratha country, by a nocturnal attack on him in his own palace at Poona, and plundered Surat, yet he found it a hard task to cope with the second army that was sent against him under the famous Rajput, Raja Jayasingh by Aurangzeb in 1665, and thought it necessary to submit to that Hindu General and make peace with the Mogul Emperor through his instrumentality. In pursuance of the terms of peace he surrendered most of his forts to Aurangzeb, and entered into his service as a general. Subsequently he even consented to repair to Delhi, along with his son Sambhaji, at the head of a considerable body of horse, to pay a visit to Aurangzeb under a promise of personal safety. But the wily and unscrupulous Emperor violated the promise and detained him and his son Sambhaji as prisoners at Delhi, forgetting that he had to deal with an astute Maratha. For he soon found that Shivaji, along with his minor son, had escaped from custody by resorting to a stratagem which bespeaks his resourcefulness. After returning to his country, Shivaji soon recaptured all the forts and territories which he had surrendered to Aurangzeb and made notable additions to them. Thereupon the Emperor sent against him a third army under one of his sons with Jas-

want Singh, the Rana of Jodhpur. But the son, with the consent of the father, soon found it desirable to conclude a treaty with Shivaji, by which the latter was acknowledged Raja or King, a jahagir was granted to him in the Berars on his relinquishing his claims over Junar and Ahmednagar, and his ancestral *Jaghirs* of Poona, Supa and Chakan were restored to him in 1667. A *Munsab* or command of 5000 horse was also granted to his son. Thus, he who was considered as a robber and freebooter by the Mogul Government, was at last acknowledged as a King and ruler, and ranked among the nobles of the Empire. But the treaty with the Mogul Emperor did not last long. For the latter after the conclusion of his war with the King of Bijapur in 1669, set it aside with a view to removing the only power that now remained to contest his suzerainty. In fact the scheming Emperor appears to have directed his son to enter into it only to divert Shivaji from rendering any assistance to the King of Bijapur during his war with him. And when the necessity for conciliating Shivaji no longer existed, he ordered his son to apprehend him at any cost and any risk. But Shivaji was equal to the emergency. He carried the war into the enemy's territory by plundering Surat for the second time, defeated the Mogul army that was sent to pursue him. His general Pratappa Guzar levied the Chauth and the

Sirdeshmukhi in the Mogul provinces of Khandedh and the Berar. Another general Moropant Peishwa, who was also his prime minister, captured several forts, and with Prataprao defeated a Mogul army in a pitched battle. His celebrated companion, Tanaji Malsure, and his equally brave brother, Suryaji, captured Singhad, though the former lost his life in the attempt, to the intense grief of Shivaji who exclaimed on hearing the news, that though the *Gad* (fort) was taken yet the *Simra* (lion) was lost in allusion to the name of the fort Singhad. Thus he or his generals carried their incursions as far as Surat in the north, Hubli and Bednore in the south, Karwar in the south-west, and Bijapur-Berar and Golkonda in the east. In fact they met with success wherever they went. The Mogul commanders were unable to arrest their progress. Being thus victorious everywhere, Shivaji and his council thought of his coronation as a King. The event was solemnized with all pomp and ceremony at Rajagad in 1674, and from it dates the fourth and last period of his career. During this period, being undisturbed by the Mogul commanders owing to their attention being engaged elsewhere, he had leisure to consolidate his power and carry out reforms in the administration. But he was not altogether unemployed in military matters. For, at the urgent solicitations of the kings of Bijapur and Golconda, he sent his forces to assist

them against the Moguls, and thus averted their fate for a time. After a short illness he died in 1680, at the comparatively early age of 53, but not till from a small beginning he had risen to be the most powerful ruler south of the river Tapti, and his paramount influence was acknowledged both by Mahomedan and Hindu sovereigns from the Tapti to the Kaveri.

The eighth chapter of Mr. Ranade's History describes Shivaji as a civil ruler. The system of government he established in his dominions shows that he was not a mere conqueror, but was also a wise and sagacious ruler of the type of the great Napoleon, who organized civil institutions and an administrative machinery eminently suited to the needs of the time, the circumstances of the country, and the character of the people. Their characteristic feature was a reconciliation of the centripetal and centrifugal forces striving for mastery in Maharashtra. The neglect of his institutions and system of government by his successors led, in the opinion of Mr. Ranade, to the decline and fall of the Maratha Power. And it cannot be said that he is not right in his estimate of those institutions as preserving the integrity of the Maratha kingdom in the midst of dangers of no ordinary kind, which threatened it with destruction on every side. Whenever his successors adhered to those institutions, they were successful at home and abroad. But when they departed

from them, they only sowed the seeds of decay and disorder. The seeming incongruity between this observation and this remark at page 208 regarding the unsuitability of his system of government to the expanding kingdom was shewn above to be anything but real or substantial.

The end and aim of Shivaji in establishing the institutions appears to have been to secure freedom for his people and to unite them into one nation powerful for self defence, and also, for self-assertion "but not to establish a universal empire under his rule." Hence he was content to levy the "Chauth" and the "Sir-deshmukhi" in the territories belonging to other powers. For the due management of the *Swaraj* or his own territories, he divided them into a number of districts extending from Nassick in the north to Mysore in the south, from the sea in the west to what is now the Madras Presidency in the east. Each of these districts was presided over by a Subedar, whose salary was about Rs 100 per mensem, and consisted of two or three Mahals or talukas under the direct management of a Mahalkari with a lower salary than the former and subordinate to him. The lowest officers were Kamavisdars, each of whom had charge of two or three villages. These officers managed the districts or subdivisions of districts and collected the revenue. The Patel and the Kulkarni had no hand in the management of the village. All these officers

were under the direct supervision and control of the Pant Amatya or the Finance Minister, and the Pant Sachivah or Accountant General both being members of the celebrated council of Ashtha Pradhan or eight ministers. The other members of the council were the Peishwa or the prime minister the Senapati or the Commander in chief the Sumant who was Foreign Secretary, the Mantri who was in charge of the private affairs of the king the Pandit rao who was the head of the ecclesiastical department, and the Nyadhish who was the chief Justice. These officers were heads of so many departments, and were always consulted by the king in matters relating to their departments they held military commands in time of war with the exception of the last two. The offices were not hereditary but only competent men were chosen to fill them when they became vacant.

According to the Marathi chroniclers, Shivaji had about 280 forts in his possession.

The officers in charge of each of these forts were selected from the three foremost castes, the Brahmin, the Prabhu and the Marathi, so as to satisfy them all, and to provide means for keeping each in check by means of the rest. The Havaladar or military commander of the fort was a Maratha. The Subedar or Submis who had the civil and revenue charge was a Brahmin. And the Kharkanis who had the charge of military stores grain, &c., was a Prabhu.

The military organization of Shivaji was equally systematic. All officers and soldiers received fixed salaries. During the time they were on active service, that is for eight months in a year, they were expected to maintain themselves by means of *Malukhgiri*, that is, by levying the Chauth and the Sirdeshmukhi in Mogul districts. Lands were never assigned to officers or soldiers for service in Shivaji's time.

The characteristic features of the mode of civil government, established by Shivaji, distinguishing it from those which preceded or followed it, are thus enumerated by Mr. Ranade.

- (1) Great importance attached to the hill forts
- (2) Discouragement of the hereditary system of transmitting high offices in one and the same family
- (3) Refusal to grant *Jaghir* assignment of land for the support of civil or military officers
- (4) The establishment of direct system of revenue management without the intervention of district or village zamindars
- (5) Disapprobation of the farming system
- (6) The establishment of a council of ministers each being in charge of a particular department and responsible to the King in Council
- (7) The subordination of the military to the civil element in the administration
- (8) The intermixture of Brahmans, Prabhus and Marathas in all offices, high and low, for the purpose mentioned above

The eighth chapter of Mr. Ranade's History is devoted to a description of the saints and prophets of Maharashtra. Some of the best of them flourished during the regime of Shivaji, and thus added to the glory of his reign. The time of Shivaji was not only one of the martial glory of Maharashtra, but was also the Augustan age of Maratha literature. During this time it was evident that not only had the martial instincts of the nation been roused, but also the national intellect had received an impulse which led it to splendid achievements in politics, religion and ethical literature clothed in the garb of verse. For it was the age of Tukaram Ramdas, Waman Pandit and other saints and poets, most of whom flourished in this and succeeding times. Their characteristic feature was that they belonged to both the sexes and were drawn from all ranks and castes of the people, Brahmanical, Sudra, Mahi, or gardener, *Kumbhar* or Potter, *Sonar* or goldsmith, *Chambar* or Shoemaker, and Mahar. Even some of the saints were Mahomedans by birth, practising the Hindu religion. The descendants of some of these are still found in the Ahmednugur district professing the Hindu faith. All these saints preached and wrote in their vernacular, thus giving a form and consistency to the Marathi language. They protested against the unmeaning and useless ceremonies and rights of the prevailing Hindu religion, and the distinctions

and exclusiveness of caste preached the doctrine of salvation by faith and by the recitation of the name of God, and advocated the superiority of a pure and holy life over the mummeries of religion and the equality of all men in the sight of God. Thus they were the early Protestants of Maharashtra.

Mr. Ranade points out what has not engaged the attention of the historians of Maharashtra, whether European or Native, the close connection between the religious revival and the political upheaval in the country in the time of Shivaji. They reciprocally acted and reacted upon each other. Shivaji not only patronised the saints and prophets living in his time, but made one of them, Ramdas, his guru or spiritual guide or preceptor, received an impulse from their teachings and discourses, and undertook his expeditions against the Mahomedan rulers avowedly for the protection of his religion.

Like the political movement of our independence, the religious revival was not the work of a single man or of a single age. It commenced in the 13th century under Dnyandeo, the first saint and prophet of Maharashtra, who was also the author of the celebrated *Dnyaneshwari*—a commentary on the *Bhagvat Gita* in verse. Mukundraj was also one of the earliest writers in Marathi. But the disturbances and turmoils consequent upon the Mahomedan incursions into the country appear to have checked the

progress of the movement though they did not altogether suppress it. In the time of Shivaji it attained its fullest development after slowly but surely gathering strength in the course of the preceding five centuries. During this long interval about 50 saints and prophets appeared, who, by their teachings and writings and by the example of their saintly lives promoted the moral advancement of the people.

Mr Ranade has instituted a just and interesting comparison between the Protestant Reformers of Europe and the Maharashtra saints and prophets. There were many points of resemblance between them. Both vehemently protested against the abuses of religion, against the domination of priestly authority, against the vices of priests, against the preference shown to rites and ceremonies over simple and pure faith and holy life, against the employment of an unknown and mysterious classical language instead of the vernacular of the people, in public worship, etc. If the European Reformers protested against the monastic orders and celibacy of the clergy, the Maratha Reformers condemned fasts and self mortification, penances and pilgrimages and the austerities of the Yogis. They commenced the struggle between the rival claims of Sanskrit and the vernaculars of the country, which is continued to the present day, though in a different form, and decided it in favour of the latter by writing original works in Marathi or

translating into that language Sanskrit works which had wielded much influence over the people, such as the Ramayan, the Mahabharat, and the Bhagvat Gita. But they did not translate the Vedas and the Shastras, as these works, though held in reverence as the foundation of the Hindu religion, or as precious relics of antiquity, had really, since the rise of Buddhism, exercised less influence over the people, or were less known to them than those mentioned above.

But it may be asked, and it is asked, for instance, by an anonymous writer in a Poona journal referred to above, what had the religious revival to do with the political triumphs of Maharashtra? The two movements might have been contemporaneous but they had nothing to do with each other. Their objects were different. They proceeded on different lines of thought and action and were actuated by different causes. The one referred to interests lying beyond the grave, the other fixed its attention upon worldly things, upon what the world calls greatness. The leaders of the one rejected the things of this world as ephemeral, transient and unworthy of human ambition, while those of the other strove hard to attain them. But this is a plausible and superficial view of the two movements. A deeper insight into their nature and causes will show that the view of Mr Ranade is the correct one, and that they really and truly exercised much influence upon each other.

It is a well-known and unquestionable fact that Shivaji derived much of his inspiration from the teachings and preachings of his contemporary saints and prophets such as Ramdas and Tukaram, the former of whom was his Guru or preceptor, and he devoutly attended the *kirtans* or religious discourses of the latter. Ramdas admittedly advised him to propagate and promote the religion of Maharashtra. These teachings inspired him with such religious enthusiasm and zeal as impelled him to conquer or die for the preservation and advancement of his religion, reminding one of the vows of Horatius to sacrifice his life for his country and religion.

And how can man do better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his Gods ?

In the name of religion Shivaji undertook all his expeditions and instilled all his religious enthusiasm in his followers just like his great contemporary Cromwell, who thought that he was commissioned by Heaven to smite the followers of Papacy and Prelacy off the surface of the earth. There is as little reason to suppose that the religious enthusiasm of Shivaji was hypocritical as that of Cromwell. Both really believed that they were impelled by Providence to achieve the work that lay before them to promote the religion they professed and preserve it from the attacks of its foes. At one time it

appeared that the religious zeal of Shivaji carried him so far as to lead him to think of leaving all worldly concerns and devoting himself to the life of an anchorite. With this view he placed all the emblems of royalty at the feet of Ramdas and surrendered his kingdom to him. But the latter dissuaded him from the project, gave back his kingdom and advised him to continue his duty as Kshatri or warrior, which would more promote the cause of religion than the quiet and inactive life of a saint or anchorite, just as Krishna, in the Bhagvat Gita, reminded Arjun of his duty as warrior when the latter appeared to swerve from it to avoid shedding the blood of his relations. Thus, it will be seen that one of the motives which actuated Shivaji to pursue his military and political career was religion. And the religious revival, characteristic of his age, had much to do with his martial glory. Those who cannot and will not perceive the causal relation between the two cannot be said to have read the lessons of history aright.

It is also said that if the religious revival in Maharashtra produced such political results as are attributed to it in Mr Ranade's History, why did it not produce similar results in other parts of India, where it was observable at the same time? This objection will be well met by the observation, that in those parts of India where such results did not occur, it did not

find a congenial soil, and that in the midst of the warlike population of Maharashtra it easily assumed a militant attitude, and became the motive power of those who panted and longed for a military career

As this review of the first eight chapters of the History has almost exceeded the limits set down for this chapter of the Biography, the remaining chapters can only be briefly noticed

The ninth chapter describes how the Maratha leaders, after the inhuman execution of their King, Sambhaji the eldest son and successor of Shivaji, by Aurangzeb, and the capture of his capital and son at Rayagadh by the Mogul army, assembled at Gingi under the leadership of Rajaram, the younger son of Shivaji, to devise means of carrying on the contest with the Moguls "Without revenues, says Mr Ranade, "without armies, without forts, and without resources of any kind they arranged to raise armies, retake forts and develop a system of conquest by which they regained not only the *Si araja*, but also the right to levy Chouth and Sardeshmukhi over the Deccan and the Karnatik

At last Aurangzeb found to his surprise and cost that political murders or assassinations are not only atrocious crimes but great blunders For instead of a slothful, indolent, voluptuous and vicious Raja, he had now to contend with an ever-increasing band of valiant, enterprising resolute, and self sacrificing warriors, who rose,

as it were, from the ashes of their slaughtered king to avenge his death and free their country from the hated yoke of the Mahomedans, and annoyed and worried the Mogul emperor and his armies by means of their skilful system of guerilla warfare, being here, there and everywhere, and did not even allow him to die in peace.

The tenth chapter shows how the Maratha leaders, after the successful termination of the war of National Independence which they carried on with the imperial forces for twenty years, brought order out of chaos under the rule of Shahu, the grandson of Shivaji.

The eleventh chapter narrates the successful efforts of the Maratha leaders in levying the Chouth and Sardeshmukhi almost over the whole of India.

The twelfth chapter is devoted to a description of the Maratha colony at Tanjore and in the neighbouring districts, ruled over by the descendants of a younger brother of Shivaji.

The last chapter embodies the late Mr. Telang's gleanings from Maratha chronicles, showing what social and religious progress was made by the Marathas during their ascendancy. This may be called a memorial chapter added to the History in memory of Mr. Telang, who, jointly with Mr. Ranade, had intended to write a history of the Marathas. But unhappily he was carried off by the cruel hand of death in the prime of life, before the project could be carried

into practice Mr Ranade has feelingly referred to this fact in the Preface, and has undertaken to write the projected history alone as a legacy left by a revered friend

This notice of the first volume of Mr Ranade's History may be concluded by observing that he has done the same sort of service to the memory of Shivaji, who is the central figure or hero of this volume, that Carlyle and Lord Macaulay among others have done to that of Cromwell. For he has done much in removing that cloud of misconceptions and misrepresentations that hitherto darkened it. He has indeed vindicated the character of his hero against the unjust, baseless, and malicious aspersions which were cast upon it by biased and bigoted Mahomedan writers, who were, unfortunately, followed by European historians without enquiring into the truthfulness of their allegations. Depicting the character, conduct and actions of Shivaji in their true colours, he has shown him as he really was, a man of genius, a true-hearted patriot, a daring and skilful commander, a sagacious and far seeing ruler, and a great organiser and builder of civil institutions, as Mr Ranade calls him, like the great Napoleon. Though not free from the faults of his age and training, he was an utter stranger to the looseness and ferocity of conduct which characterized his times.

The second volume of the History remains unfinished, as stated in chapter III. A chapter

or two of the volume are in manuscript and will, it is to be hoped, be published soon

The volume containing Mr Ranade's twenty essays on Indian Economics was published in 1899. It will be seen from the publishers' preface that the original intention was to publish all his writings in 4 volumes, of which the one under notice is the first. The second was to contain his chapters on Maratha History, the third his Speeches on Socio Religious Questions, and the fourth his Theistic, Literary, Educational and Miscellaneous publications. As regards the second volume, the Rise of the Maratha Power, it has been already published, but it remains unfinished, as observed above. The other two volumes are still in the press, and it is uncertain when they will be published.

The first volume on Indian Economics opens with his lecture on Indian Political Economy, delivered in the Deccan College in 1892, subsequently published in the Quarterly Journal of the Sarvajanic Sabha, and already noticed in the sixth chapter of this work, entitled "On Matters Economical and Industrial." This essay, as observed by the publishers in their preface, furnishes the keynote to the remaining contents of this volume, which are as different from each other as the main subject will allow and display the wide range of the writer's studies. They also testify to his masterly grasp of all branches of Political Economy, and to the fact

of his writing with equal facility and felicity on subjects as different as the following —

II The Reorganization of real credit in India,

III Netherlands India and the culture system,

IV Present State of Indian manufactures and outlook of the same,

V Indian Foreign Emigration,

VI Iron Industry—Pioneer Attempts,

VII Industrial Conference,

VIII Twenty years' Review of Census Statistics,

IX Local Government in England and India,

X Emancipation of Serfs in Russia,

XI Prussian Land Legislation and the Bengal Tenancy Bill,

XII The Law of Land Sale in British India

These essays were read either at the meetings of the Industrial Conference at Poona, which was founded by him, and of which he was the heart and soul, as almost of every institution at Poona which owed its origin to his activity, or were published in the Quarterly Journal of the Sarvajanic Sabha, or separately. The volume was well received by the public press. The *London Times* observed that it contains "Definite schemes on which India's prosperity depends." According to the *Times of India*, "it will be well if public

opinion is more closely fixed upon Mr Ranade's book' The *Bombay Gazette* cordially recommended it to the public The *Pioneer* found it to be 'of special interest' The *Madras Mail* said it deserves 'to be welcomed by all students of the science' *India* pronounced it to be a masterly review The Director of Public Instruction Bombay, in his Review of Native Publications, says, 'Mr Ranade's Indian Economics is a model for the Indian Politician for its high tone of statesmanship and genuine effort in the direction of fair and unbiased criticism This favourable notice of the work by some English and Anglo-Indian journals and by the Government Reviewer of Native Publications is particularly noteworthy, when it is borne in mind that the Essays contain opinions hardly in accordance with the orthodox *laissez faire* and free trade policy of England and maintain that such a policy though adapted to such a progressive enlightened and wealthy country as England, is hardly fitted to promote the material and economic welfare of such a backward country as India, which cannot do without Government aid and guidance in whatever is calculated to advance her prosperity

The other published works of Mr Ranade may be briefly noticed here

Texts of Hindu Law about the Remarriage of Hindu Widows was published in 1870, and

now forms a supplement to Mr. Dayaram Gidmal's *Status of Women in India*. The agitation caused by the celebration of the first widow re-marriage in Bombay in 1869, in which Mr. Ranade, along with the late Vishnu Shastri Pandit, the staunch and learned advocate of such re-marriages on this side of India, and with others, took a leading part, led to the publication of this pamphlet in which he has carefully collected the Shastrical authorities on this much discussed question. The pamphlet shows to unbiased readers that the texts of Hindu sages or law-givers, if rightly or liberally interpreted, do not, generally speaking prohibit such marriages. One of them, Parashar, who is universally considered as the ruling authority in the Kaliyuga, or this age, expressly allows women to marry again when their husbands are dead or are incapable of performing marital functions from whatever causes. This pamphlet was followed by statistics of civil justice in the Bombay Presidency (1871) and *Theist's Confession of Faith* (1872). Two Lectures on Indian Commerce, in Marathi (1872), *Review of the Existing State of the published Marathi Literature* (1868), *Statistics of Criminal Justice in the Bombay Presidency* (1874), *A Revenue Manual of the British Empire in India*, and a *Biographical Notice of Pandit Vishnu Parashram Shastri*. All these pamphlets are now out of print.

Statistics of Civil and Criminal Justice are two pamphlets, digesting the administration of civil and criminal justice in this Presidency, and containing suggestions for reform. The latter also contains thoughtful observations upon the minute of the Honble Mr Fitz James Stephen on the administration of justice in India. These two pamphlets do not pretend to be more than useful digests of the published statistics regarding the administration of justice in this Presidency. Most of the contents of the pamphlets was originally published in the shape of a series of articles in the *Times of India*.

A Theist's Confession of Faith contains a summary of the leading tenets of Theism as held by the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay, of which Mr Ranade, as observed in several places, was a prominent, earnest and devoted member, and other Theistic churches in India. Those who find fault with these churches on the supposed ground of their having no creed will find a sufficient and ample refutation of their contention in this pamphlet, which will be shortly republished along with his essays and speeches on social and religious subjects.

Two lectures on India Commerce a Review of the existing state of the published Marathi Literature and a Biographical notice of Pandit Vishnu Parashram Shastri are not only out of print, but cannot be procured at all for review or notice. Nothing, then, can be said about them at all here.

A Revenue Manual of the British Empire in India contains an abstract or summary of the evidence taken before the Committee of the House of Commons on East India Finance supplemented by the information contained in the latest Administration Reports. The value of the Revenue Manual as a book of revenue reference in revenue matters was acknowledged by the public press in India when it appeared in 1877. The *Englishman* of Calcutta observed (14th April 1877) "Mr Ranade's work is decidedly useful to those who wish to obtain an insight into the principal sources of the Indian revenue and its administration."

The *Hindu Patriot* of Calcutta (2nd April 1877) said "He (Mr Ranade) has collected the information with great care and labour, and, while the book is valuable to those who may wish to know the sort of evidence tendered before the East India Finance Committee, it will be useful to the general Indian student who wishes to study the history of Indian Revenue."

The *Times of India* remarks (10th April 1877) "The work makes no pretension to originality, but regarded merely as a compilation based on the East India Finance Committee's Blue books and the latest Administration Reports, it embodies a deal of valuable and carefully digested information which cannot but prove of the highest service to those who

are about to make the important subject with which it deals a topic of special inquiry. More than three fourths of the matter has already been before the public in the shape of newspaper articles, which at their first appearance secured the approbation of leading journals in India and the *Saturday Review* at Home. In connection with this subject it may be remarked that Mr. Ranade was one of the few gentlemen who were invited by Government to proceed to England to give evidence before the East India Committee. But before he could avail himself of the invitation the Committee abruptly came to an end and he thus lost an opportunity of visiting England, which never again presented itself to him owing to his retiring and unadventurous disposition and official engagements. Though he travelled throughout India from Simla to Cape Comorin and from Lahore to Calcutta, he had not the pleasure of visiting England which he loved and respected so much as the land of political liberty, of constitutional government and religious toleration as the best specimen of European civilization of commercial prosperity, of intellectual, scientific, moral and social progress which the human intellect in its highly developed form has attained to the present day. Moreover he regarded England as entrusted by Providence with the noble mission of effecting the regeneration of India and elevating her in

the scale of nations. It was his firm belief that the Hindus have been one of the chosen peoples of God, and he defended this belief most ingeniously against any adverse criticism even of his friends. He would say how otherwise could the ancestors of Hindus have achieved such splendid triumph in Poetry and Philosophy and attained such a high degree of civilization in ancient times? How could their descendants, in spite of periodical inroads of various conquerors, have preserved their nationality, their religious and social institutions almost intact? The Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Romans and the Greeks appeared for some time above the political horizon, attained a certain degree of civilization and political greatness and then disappeared. But the Hindus still remain in the country of their birth like the Chinese, in spite of foreign subjugation and conquest. And, lastly, is it not by a providential arrangement that they have come under the benign sway of Great Britain, which, of all countries in the world, is best fitted to promote their advancement in the various departments of human activity?

Loyalty, then, to the British Government must be the cardinal article in the political creed of this country. For, without the aid and guidance of that Government, they can never hope to effect their regeneration and to attain to the

dignity of a great and thriving nation But what a strange irony of fate was it when the loyalty of a man like Mr Ranade, with such strong convictions regarding the necessity of British rule for supplying the manifold needs and wants of India, was at one time doubted by some wrong headed and narrow-minded Bombay officials, which resulted in his being rapidly transferred from Poona to Nasik and thence to Dhulia ' But the cloud casting a shadow of doubt and suspicion over his loyalty based upon the firm foundation of national interest, passed away with the imperious regime of Sir Richard Temple long time ago It appears from a notice published at the end of his Introduction to the Peshwas Diaries that a volume containing his essays and speeches on social and religious subjects is in the press It is to be hoped that it will be shortly published For, judging from the contents of the volume as given in the notice, it cannot but be an interesting publication, as it will contain the following —

- (1) Philosophy of Theism
- (2) Texts on Hindu Marriage
- (3) Vedic and other Authorities for Widow Marriage
- (4) Growth and Decay of Female Rights
- (5) Raja Ram Mohun Roy
- (6) Telang Commemora
- (7) Reform and Revival
- (8) Southern India a Hundred Years Ago

- (9) Hindu Protestantism.
- (10) Neither Hindu nor Mahomedan.
- (11) Theist's Confession of Faith.
- (12) Christianity.
- (13) Conference and Congress.

Some of the contents are his speeches delivered at the annual meetings of the Social Conference. The writer of this sketch always considered his speeches delivered at the Social Conference as his annual balloonings, when that weighty man lifted his audience, as it were, from the gross commonplace world of everyday facts to a high ethereal region of noble thoughts, elevating ideas and soul stirring sentiments, and presented an animating spectacle of a highly gifted mind, soaring like an eagle above the din and strife of creeping, little minded men, chained to the earth earthy, above the tempest that furiously raged below, thence he calmly and patiently surveyed events and measures not from China to Peru, but from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from Punjab to Bengal, in their social and religious aspects.

CHAPTER III

THE FELLOW-GRADUATES OF MR. RANADE.

THIS chapter is devoted to giving some account of the fellow-graduates of Mr Ranade, that is, those who passed the B.A Examination along with him for the first time in 1862. These are Dr Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Messrs Waman Abaji Modak and Balla Mangesh Wagle, the last two being, alas! no more All these graduates have held distinguished positions in society, and are not unworthy of being styled our premier graduates The charge of being Tom Paines in religion and Fenians in loyalty that has been generally levelled against educated natives cannot be preferred against them For all of them have been sincere and earnest Theists, and have been unswerving in their loyalty and attachment to the British Government which has conferred on three of them the much coveted title of C I E

To begin with Dr Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M A , Ph D , C I E He, like Mr. Ranade, so distinguished himself at the B.A Examination as to be placed along with him in the first class Before the commence-

ment of the University Examinations he had already finished the collegiate course of studies at the Elphinstone College under Dr Harkness Principal of that College He had not then much to prepare for the University Examinations except the particular books prescribed for them, and Sanskrit which he took up for his second language at the B A Examination After passing these examinations with credit and holding a Senior Fellowship at the Poona (now Deccan) College, he was appointed Head Master of the High School at Hyderabad (Sind), in 1864 Thence he was transferred to Ratnagiri as Head Master of the High School there, in 1865 in pursuance of a change of policy in the Educational Department which may be freely noticed here It was the opinion of Mr E. I Howard Director of Public Instruction in the early sixties that our High Schools could not be brought into any state of efficiency until they were placed under the management of English Head Masters Acting upon this opinion he appointed English Head Masters at some High Schools even in the remote Mofussil such as Ratnagiri, Dhulia, and some other places If first class or even second class graduates from an English University, or from amongst the masters of public schools in England had been selected for these posts the result would not have failed to be beneficial But no such men could be secured for the small salaries which the Edu

cational Department offered to pay to the holders of these places. Consequently men who were without any University standing, or who could not even boast of having received any decent education at any public school or institution in England or elsewhere, were appointed as Head Masters of some Mofussil Schools. The result was such as might have been expected. For these English Head Masters, through their intemperate habits, low breeding, and want of tact and acquaintance with native manners and customs, were soon found utterly incompetent to manage public schools, and instead of bettering their condition made it worse. One of these worthies was reported to have absconded with school fees, and another at Ratnagiri soon succeeded in emptying the school of its scholars. Hence the educational authorities came to perceive that competent native graduates would be better Head Masters than fourth or fifth rate men from England. In consequence of this change of policy, Dr Bhandarkar was appointed at Ratnagiri as Head Master. The selection was amply justified by the subsequent state of the school. For Dr Bhandarkar, by his judicious management and strenuous efforts, raised the school to such a high state of efficiency as was unknown to it in former years. But he could not be allowed long to waft the fragrance of his scholarship in the school room at Ratnagiri. For, unlike most

of our graduates who, after passing their examinations, lay aside their books and neglect their studies, he has zealously and unremittingly paid attention to the study of Sanskrit, and has mastered that classical language of India and its vast and unique literature to such a degree as has enabled him to attain not only an Indian but a European reputation as a Sanskrit scholar. In fact he is the best and most profound Sanskrit scholar that our University has produced. Naturally, therefore, he was called upon to fill a temporary vacancy in the chair of Professor of Sanskrit in the Elphinstone College in 1869. And on the return of the permanent incumbent from leave he was appointed to act as Assistant Professor of Sanskrit in the same College. And in 1882 he was permanently appointed as Professor of Oriental Languages in the Deccan College, which post he occupied with distinction till his retirement in 1894 after a service of 30 years.

The career of Dr Bhandarkar, both as a student and a professor, was highly successful. The success is attributable not only to his abilities which are of a very high order, and to his deep erudition and scholarship, but also to his earnest devotion to duty and to that characteristic trait in his character, viz, thoroughness. He is nothing if not thorough in whatever he undertakes to do. He is a thorough Sanskrit scholar. He is a thorough-going social and religious reformer,

and a thoroughly earnest Theist. He is thorough in his likes and dislikes. He was a thorough schoolmaster and professor during his official career. His works on Sanskrit and Indian antiquities, his lectures, addresses and sermons on social, ethical and religious subjects, produce the impression of thoroughness, of being thoroughly thought out. He has thoroughly excluded politics from his sphere of action, believing that until we reform our social system and remove the evils which have vitiated it and retarded our social progress, until we purify our religious beliefs and adopt a form of Theism, it is useless to strive for political rights and privileges or to talk of political advancement. Consequently he has devoted his attention solely and wholly to social and religious reform. It may, indeed, be said, on the other hand, that though politics should not exclusively engage our attention to the neglect of social and religious reform, yet it will not be desirable or politic to take no action in the matter of political advancement. For, if we do not educate ourselves to exercise the rights of citizenship, we shall never be fit to exercise such rights, and shall never be qualified to take part in the administration of our own country. For it is a law of nature that if any organ or faculty be not exercised, it becomes atrophied and perfectly useless and will gradually disappear. At pre-

sent our political faculties may be rudimentary. But it does not follow from this state of things that no efforts should be made to educate and develop them. Care, however, should be taken to keep the people free from the supposition that at present they are fit to exercise all the political rights or privileges that are possessed by Englishmen. It may take centuries before we, as a nation, are qualified to possess such rights and privileges. But still the efforts of our reformers should be directed, among other things, to qualify the people to possess such rights. Our Municipalities, Local Boards and Legislative Councils are calculated to have an educative influence upon the people in the direction of self government. It should then, be the aim of the well wishers of our country to strengthen such institutions as these, and advocate advancement of the people in all subjects—political, social, religious, ethical industrial &c — affecting their well being. Reform all along the line should be our aim and should be many-sided.

Possessing, to an unusual degree, strength of character and force of will, Dr Bhandarkar is not merely a lip reformer in social and religious matters but boldly and fearlessly practises what he preaches in such matters. He is one of the earnest and thoughtful leaders of the Prarthana Samaj movement in Bombay.

If he is not one of those who founded the Bombay Samaj, owing to his having been away on service when the Samaj was established in 1867 under the leadership of the late Dr Atmaram Pandurang Tarkhadkar, he heartily joined it when he came to Bombay in 1869, and since then he has been upholding the cause of the Theistic movement by strenuous efforts, in spite of the general apathy and indifference shown to it by the public in our Presidency. His lectures and sermons at the Theistic churches at Bombay, Poona and elsewhere have been always thoughtful and learned, and have afforded a fine treat to those who have listened to them. He has been leading the life of an earnest Theist and social reformer. He has strengthened the cause of widow re marriage by marrying his own widowed daughter to a Deputy Inspector of Schools, and has thus set an example, which, it is to be hoped, will be followed by those who are alive to the injustice that has been done to the widows of the upper classes of India in servile subserviency to "custom's idiot sway." Being firm and strong in his convictions, he has none of the compromising spirit of Mr. Ranade, and would seem hardly disposed to tolerate opinions that are opposite to his own. From this trait in his character, it might be supposed that he must be anything but an amiable man. But the supposition is far from

the truth. For the apparently rough and stern exterior conceals a kindly heart and a genial disposition, like the jack fruit of his province, the Konkan, whose thorny covering is no index to its sweet contents

For his varied Sanskrit attainments and learning, as attested by the pages of the Indian Antiquary, to which he has made many contributions on the subject of Indian Antiquities, Philology and Sanskrit Literature, and for his numerous works on the same subject, Government has conferred upon him the title of C I E, which, it need hardly be said, he richly deserved. He was also nominated Vice Chancellor of our University in succession to the late lamented Mr Justice Telang in 1893, and has also received the honorary Degree of Ph D from the University of Göttingen. He is not only a Fellow of the Universities of Bombay and Calcutta, but also an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, of the German Oriental Society and of the Italian Asiatic Society, a corresponding member of the French Institute and of the Imperial Academy of Science, St Petersburg, and a Foreign Member of the Royal Bohemian Society of the Sciences

Dr Bhandarkar does not take so hopeful a view of the future of our country as Mr. Ranade. If the latter was called optimist, the

former may be well termed pessimist And it cannot be said that there are no grounds for his pessimism For when we consider the deplorable condition of our society, in whatever aspect we may view it, whether intellectual, moral, social, religious or industrial what little progress has been made in any of the departments of human activity, how stagnant is our civilization, how little impression Western civilization appears to have made upon the stronghold of blind and superstitious orthodoxy, how little has its vivifying influence pervaded the mass of the people, and how the present state of things appears to justify the lines of the poet

' Ages in success on find

Forms that change not and stagnant m nd

And they leave the same beh nd,

which, though meant for a neighbouring country, are equally applicable to us we cannot but be filled with despair Let us, however, hope with Mr Ranade that under the guidance and tuition of England and under the influence of Western knowledge and science, India may rise in the scale of nations though the consummation so devoutly to be wished for may take centuries for its accomplishment

But in religious matters Dr Bhandarkar is quite an optimist In his sermons and discourses he avails himself of every opportunity of justifying the ways of God to man, and of showing that there is more happiness than misery in the world According to our Marathi poet and

saint, Tukaram, there is very little happiness but immense misery in this world. But Dr. Bhandarkar, in a fine sermon delivered at the Poona Prarthana Samaj in 1899, held that in a majority of cases the converse of the saying of Tukaram will be found to be true. If anyone would keep a diary of his daily experiences he would surely find that there were more pleasurable or happy days than sorrowful or miserable ones in his life. By a most happy providential arrangement even the miserable are soon reconciled to their lot, however hard it may be. The story of a man who was imprisoned for years together, and who, after he was released, again returned to the prison, as he could find no pleasure in a life of liberty, illustrates the truth of this position. It is true some sorrows are greater and more lasting than pleasures, which, even when innocent, are known by their wings, if not in such a case by their stings, and are scarcely felt when we are supposed to be enjoying them. Adam Smith, in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, observes about the severity and sharpness and lasting characteristic of our sorrows and griefs, while our joys are generally of an evanescent nature and are hardly felt while they last. It should, however, be borne in mind, in modification of this observation, that though sorrows are more lasting and have a greater influence upon our life, yet they either kill the sufferer or are killed or softened and mitigated

by time independently of their chastening effect upon one's character and of their teaching us to

“ Turn from earthly things away,
Vain they are and brief their stay
Chaining down to earth the heart,
Nothing lasting they impart

In the course of time we find that even great sorrows are mellowed and softened, and we fondly return to them often and often with a feeling not akin to pain.

The remark of Prince Bismarck that he passed only a few days or hours happily in the course of his long and eventful life is only the exaggeration (Dr Bhandarkar observes) of an old, grief stricken, wearied, worn out, desponding and despairing man. Had he really enjoyed happiness for so short a time as he describes during so long a life as his, he would certainly not have lived so long.

Let us now turn to his works relating to Sanskrit Literature, Antiquities and Philological research. The mention of all of them would form a long list. Some of them, however, may be mentioned here, as they will give an idea of his industry, learning and research.

Six volumes of reports on ancient Sanskrit manuscripts collected from Guzerath and other parts of India during several years, containing explanatory descriptive notes on them and culculated, in his own words, “ to throw light on some obscure points in the literary and political

history and chronology of the country." The manuscripts form part of the Deccan College Library.

The Early History of the Deccan down to the Mahomedan conquest, forming part of the "Bombay Gazetteer," is a noticeable work of Dr. Bhandarkar's. About this work he modestly says in the introductory chapter that it "does not pretend to be a literary production but merely a congeries of facts." But it is more than a collection of facts and dates. In the absence of any reliable contemporary history he had to collect materials for his work from inscriptions in the cave temples of Western India, copper-plate grants, ancient coins, a chronicle of Kashmir, called the *Rajatarangini*, which is not free from the suspicion of embodying much that is not corroborated by evidence, the literature of the Jains of the Shwetamber sect, containing accounts of the later princes, the accounts of the princes of Rajputana and the Puranas, relating "to the genealogies of the most powerful royal families which ascend to a higher antiquity than the works noted hitherto." Availing himself of such portions of these materials as stood the test of the modern comparative and critical method regarding their authenticity and historical value, Dr. Bhandarkar has composed a highly useful and readable history of the Deccan in early times, which throws as much light upon that dark period of Indian History

as is possible under the circumstances of the case. It is not simply a record of reigns and administrations of unknown kings and princes, and of wars and battles between them, but it also gives an interesting account of the religious, social and economic condition of Maharashtra under the Audhrabhrityas or Satavhanus. It is gratifying to learn from its pages that "Trade and commerce must have been in a flourishing condition during this early period," resulting in the accumulation of large fortunes by persons engaged in these pursuits. Portions of such fortunes were often spent in the construction of those magnificent rock cut caves which attest a high state of perfection attained in architecture in those early times, and which were meant not only for affording shelter to mendicant monks, but also for contemplation and repose for those who were philosophically minded and wanted to retire from the cares and troubles of life. The great Chaitya Cave at Karli, for instance, is said to have been constructed by a "Seth" or merchant. Communication between different parts does not appear to have been difficult.

"There were," says Dr Bhandarkar (p. 44), "in those days guilds of trades, such as those of weavers, druggists, corn dealers, oil manufacturers, etc. Their organization seems to have been complete and effective, since, as already mentioned, they received permanent deposits of

money and paid interest on them from generation to generation. Self-government by means of such guilds and village communities has always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country. A *Nigamasabha*, or town corporation, is also mentioned in one of Ushavadata's Nasik inscriptions, which show that something like municipal institutions existed in those early days. It is also worthy of remark that the early interest on the 2,000 *Karshapanas* deposited by Ushavadata was 100 *Karshapanas*, and in another case that on 1,000 was 75, showing that the rate of interest was not so high as it has been in recent times, but varied from five to seven and a half per cent. per annum. If the rate of interest depends on the degree of security and bears an inverse ratio to the efficiency of government, it appears that the country was well governed notwithstanding political revolutions. To this result the efficient local organization spoken of above, which no changes of dynasties ever affected, must no doubt have contributed in a large measure "

"My visit to the Vienna Congress" is an interesting paper he read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 11th February, 1887. In the paper he gives expression to his impressions of the various places he visited in England, France, Germany and Austria on his way to Vienna. At the first day's meeting

of the Congress he had extracts from his Report on the search for manuscripts, which was then in the press, and his paper on the Ramanuja and the Bhagvat or Pancharatra systems, afforded to that learned assembly of Orientalists the unique sight of a Hindu scholar singing some Sanskrit verses in different metres, composed by himself, and reading some of the hymns of the R̥gveda Samhita in the manner in which they are recited by Vaideka Brahmans in India. This must have been a striking sight to many admiring eyes

"The critical, comparative and historical method of inquiry, as applied to Sanskrit scholarship and philology and Indian archæology," is the title of a lecture delivered at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Free Church College Literary Society on the 31st March, 1888. It need hardly be added that it is a masterly exposition of the principles regulating the modern critical, comparative and historical method of inquiry

"The ends and aims of college education" is the substance of an address delivered by him on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the removal of the Deccan College from the old dilapidated bungalow at Wanori to its present stately mansion on the Kirti Road near the Bund Gardens. It contains sound and wholesome advice to graduates and undergraduates, which they would do well not to forget in after-

life, but to regulate their conduct according to it

10 "A note on the age of marriage" and its consummation according to the Hindu Religious Law is a pamphlet published in 1891, when a controversy fiercely raged in Western India on the Age of Consent Bill, which is now law, and which makes it penal for husbands to consummate marriage with their wives before the latter attain the age of twelve years. It is a wise and humane piece of legislation meant to shelter infant wives, who were not even in their teens, against the premature, violent and cruel assertion of their marital rights by their husbands. But the Bill was denounced by some orthodox Hindus, headed or prompted by reactionists or those who, in spite of their having received collegiate education, hold or seem to hold opinions adverse to social and religious reform (for not a few of the latter act contrarily to what they profess to believe) as an unjustifiable interference with Hindu religion. They set up a cry of Hindu religion in danger, but hardly found an echo in the general mass of the people. Their complaint against the proposed legislation, that it tended to violate the injunction of Hindu religion regarding the supposed necessity of consummating the marriage when the wife arrived at puberty, does not seem to have been well founded. For Dr. Bhandarkar has conclusively shown, in the pamphlet under notice, by examining the texts

of various ancient Rishis or Sages, that, according to the Hindu Religious Law, not only marriages after puberty are allowable, but that it is not obligatory to consummate the marriage immediately after the occurrence of such an event.

11. The Convocation Address of 1894, delivered in his capacity of Vice Chancellor of the Bombay University, may be safely pronounced to be one of the best of its kind ever heard in the University Hall. Exception may be taken and has been taken to some of the positions taken by the learned Doctor. But considered as a whole, it cannot but be held as conveying sound and wholesome advice to young graduates and under-graduates, and rightly makes them beware of "the patriotism of feeble minds incapable of thought and action, which is limited to praising "one's ancestors and one's own people, admiring their manners, customs, and institutions, and denying their manifest failings and patent defects in their character." In the Address the character of a true patriot is thus described "He only is a true patriot who, with an unprejudiced mind and with the light that God has vouchsafed to him, examines the manners, customs, and institutions of his country, and the character of his people, fearlessly exposes the abuses or evils he may find therein, and earnestly calls upon them to reform and improve even at the risk of offending them and being stoned by them." Advice such as this is

much needed by our young men and even by those who are too old to be called young, but whose untutored and prejudiced minds are filled with airy or flighty notions regarding the glory of ancient times, and resent even a fair and true criticism of the faults and defects in the character of our ancestors and the fossilized state of our institutions

12 'The relations between the Sūtras of Asvalāyana and Sankhāyan and the Sakala and Bashkala Sakhas of the Rek Samhita is a paper sent to the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists held in London

13 An edition of Māṭi Madhava for the Bombay Sanskrit Series

14 First and Second Books of Sanskrit composed at the suggestion of the late Dr Haug, who was the first Professor of Oriental Languages in the Poona (now Deccan) College, for the use of beginners in Sanskrit These books have been used as the text books not only throughout schools that teach Sanskrit in India, but in some parts of Europe also Their popularity may be estimated from the fact of their having run through several editions They are not simply primers, but treatises on grammar It is said that he who studies them carefully and attentively may be said to have prepared himself for studying any Sanskrit work with ease and facility

15 'Basis of Theism and its relation to the so called revealed religions, is the substance of a

lecture delivered by him at an anniversary of the Poona Prarthana Samaj, and fairly sums up the arguments that may be advanced in favour of Theism, as compared with revealed systems of faith.

We shall now turn to review the career of Mr. Waman Abaji Modak, B A, C I E. He was born in 1836 and passed the B A examination with Messrs Ranade and Bhandarkar in 1862, being placed in the 2nd class His career in the Educational Department, like that of Dr Bhandarkar, was a distinguished one, though in a lower sphere After taking his B A degree and holding a Daxana Fellowship in the Poona (now Deccan) College, he was appointed First Assistant Master of the Poona High School, then under the management of the late Mr T B Kirkham, in 1864 Thence he was successively appointed Head Master of the Hyderabad High School (1867), of the Ratnagiri High School in 1869, after the promotion of Dr Bhandarkar to the chair of Professor of Oriental Languages in the Elphinstone College The experiment of appointing graduates of our University as Head Masters of High Schools proved highly successful in the case of Mr Modak, as in that of Dr Bhandarkar and several others, such as the late Mr M M Kunte, Mr (Now Rao Bahadur) V N Patil, &c For Mr Modak discharged the duties of Head Master of several High Schools with such conspicuous success that he was

appointed to fill the responsible post of Principal of the Liphinstone High School at Bombay (in 1882), which had been hitherto held by Europeans only. But he fully justified the choice made by Mr. Chetfield, then Director of Public Instruction, whose appointments were invariably judicious and happy. He always appointed the right man to the right place during his long tenure of office. Under Mr. Modak's skilful and careful management the school was found to be in a more efficient state than it had been ever before. After serving in the Educational Department for nearly 30 years he retired in 1893 on pension. For his distinguished services the title of C I E was conferred upon him in 1895. But unfortunately he did not enjoy the honour nor his pension long. For, while delivering an address on Rija Ram Mohan Roy, the originator or founder of the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal, on an anniversary of his death at the Poona Prarthana Samaj, he was struck down by a stroke of paralysis in the latter part of 1893. Though he recovered from the attack, yet he never regained his former health, and after sustaining two more attacks of the dire disease died in August, 1897, at the age of 61 years, being in fact the oldest of our graduates. The next to him in point of age is Dr. Bhandarkar, who was born in 1837, and is still hale and hearty.

The secret of Mr. Modak's success as an educationist will be found in his earnest and

single minded devotion to duty, and a conscientious and intelligent performance of what ever duties devolved upon him. Though not so richly endowed in mind as Mr Ranade or Dr Bhandarkar, he possessed abilities above the average, and readily brought whatever he possessed to the service of his Maker, of Government and of his fellow men. Being a strict disciplinarian, he was a painstaking and careful school master, and strove hard for the improvement of his pupils, so much so that in spite of the strictness and the rigid discipline he enforced in the school he was appointed to manage, he became popular wherever he went, even with the pupil class. Every one who has had anything to do with the teaching of boys, probably knows that teachers have to satisfy not only their superiors, which is not an easy task but also their juvenile critics, that is, their pupils, who, whatever may be their faults, rarely fail to distinguish a good from a bad or indifferent teacher, and to respect him only who really cares and takes pains for their advancement in knowledge. Mr Modak was one of those few who completely stood the criticism of these shrewd and unsparing critics.

Like Dr Bhandarkar, Mr Modak devoted his attention mostly to social and religious reform. He, too, not only talked of social and religious reform, but strenuously practised what he preached or professed, and led the exemplary

life of a social and religious reformer. He was indeed an earnest and active member of the Prarthana Samaj, and delivered fine sermons in English or Marathi at the Samaj Mandirs or churches at Bombay and Poona. But his *Kirtans* or discourses on some religious or moral subject, accompanied with music and singing, which are a characteristic feature of our religious preaching, were finer still, being highly fervent and impressive. In this mode of preaching Dr Bhandarkar has also attained an admirable degree of proficiency. Mr Modak's strict and unvarying adherence to the principles of social reform, such as encouragement of widow marriages, led to his ex-communication, but he boldly faced the annoyances and troubles of an excommunicated Hindu rather than swerve from those principles.

It now remains to notice the career of the remaining fellow graduate, Mr Bal Mangesh Wagle, M A, LL B, who died rather early, at the age of 49, in 1888. Like Mr Modak, he was placed in the 2nd class at the first B A Examination, but unlike him, he also passed the M A (in History and Political Economy) and LL B examinations. The characteristic feature of Mr Wagle was that he was an all-round student, being well up in all the subjects of the various examinations at which he presented himself. It is said that it was never found necessary in his case to prop him up

with ' grace marks ' which are sometimes given to a candidate to make up his deficiency, if it be a slight one, in any subject of the examination when his general performance in other subjects appears to be satisfactory. At the first LL B examination he was placed in the first class along with Mr Justice Ranade, and took second class honours in the subsequent examination for Honours in Law, the first class honours falling to the share of the latter. He was also the first graduate who passed the Advocates examination in 1868 or 1869 which qualifies the successful candidate to practise on both sides of the High Court, Appellate and Original, like barristers. Mr Ranade could not share the honour of being the first Advocate, as he was then absent from Bombay having been employed as a Judge in a Native State. After passing the Advocates examination Mr Wagle began to practise in the High Court. But his practice was hardly extensive. From his uniformly successful University career great expectations were formed of his achieving similar success as Advocate in the High Court. But great expectations are not generally fulfilled. Such was the case of Mr Wagle. Perhaps he was better fitted for the office of a Judge than to be a pleader. For when, after passing the Advocates examination he was appointed to act as a Judge of the Small Cause Court, he is reported to have performed the functions

of the office very creditably Had he confined himself to the Judicial service, he would very likely have risen in that service very high, perhaps, like Mr. Ranade

When Mr Dadabhoy Nowroji, the Grand Old Man of India, was called by H H Malharrao Gaikwad to save his sinking State from a veritable shipwreck, brought about through his own folly, and to manage his affairs as Diwan or Prime Minister in the early seventies of the last century, he took Mr Wagle with him to fill the high office of Chief Justice of Baroda Had the Gaikwad listened to the sagacious advice of Mr Dadabhoy and allowed him full scope in the management of the affairs of the State, he would have saved himself from the disgrace and ruin which ultimately befell him But that *misguided and senseless prince* would not abide by the wise counsels of Mr Dadabhoy Nowroji Consequently he had to give up the Diwanship after a year or so With him Mr Wagle also retired During the short time he filled the office of Chief Justice at Baroda, he is said to have discharged his duties very ably and impartially After his return to Bombay he resumed his practice at the bar, but not with much success

Like Messrs Ranade, Bhandarkar and Modak, Mr Wagle was a devout and earnest theist, and was one of those who founded the Bombay Prarthana Samaj He took a lively

and an active interest in the promotion of the movement in Western India. He was also a Social Reformer, and was one of those who brought about the first widow marriage in Bombay in 1869.

Thus it will be seen that our first graduates have more or less attained distinction in after-life. The Chancellor of the University (Sir Bartle Frere) who admitted them to the degrees of B A, in an eloquent and earnest speech he made at the Convocation at the time, advised them "to maintain the character of the University, to remove from the learned men of India the common reproach that we are now compelled to seek professors in every branch of learning, even in the classical languages of your own country, on the banks of the Rhine or the Seine, the Isis or the Forth, and to disprove the belief that the Oriental intellect is worn out .

that it is no longer capable of producing those results of a higher order of intellect of which your ancient literature contains such abundant evidence and to belie the conviction that an education such as you have received tends to sap the foundation of social morality, that it tends to make you presumptuous and self sufficient, despisers of parental and all other authority.' It may be said without fear of contradiction, that our first graduates have well nigh fulfilled the expectations that were formed of them as much as was in their

power For they have maintained the character of our University, have furnished an eminent Professor of Sanskrit of European reputation in the person of Dr Bhandarkar, and would have supplied another of English Literature, History or Political Economy, if higher attractions had not induced Mr Ranade to leave the Educational Department for the Judicial one Instead of sapping the foundation of social morality and parental authority, they have strengthened such foundation by their exemplary lives and steadfast loyalty One of them, Mr Ranade, has paid such implicit obedience to parental authority as to incur the censure of being a half hearted reformer in the matter of widow marriage But the censure is unjust For it was a case of conflict of duties where parental authority prevailed over the claims of social reform

Let us hope that in years to come the successors of our first graduates will be similarly actuated by the high principles of morality and strict loyalty, and will thus tread in their footsteps

It will be seen from the extract of the Chancellor's Address given above that he advised our first graduates also to disprove the belief that the Oriental intellect is worn out, and that it is no longer capable of producing results of a higher order of intellect The Oriental intellect may have been worn out owing to the

disorders and anarchical state of society consequent upon the dissolution of the Mogul Empire. But it is now happily being renovated by English education, by Western civilization. And until it is restored to its pristine vigour, which is the work of years, it is perhaps too early to expect it to produce higher results. For such results are the work of genius, which cannot be produced to order, but is the product of a highly educated or refined state of society lasting for generations together. Even in Europe—

Ages elapsed ere Homer's lamp appeared
And ages ere the Manchuan swan was heard
To carry nature lengths unknown before,
To give a Milton birth ask'd ages more
Thus Genius rose and set at order'd times,
And shot a day spring into distant climes,
Ennobling every region that he chose
He sunk in Greece, in Italy he rose,
And, tedious years of Gothic darkness pass'd
Emerg'd all splendour in our isle at last
Thus lovely halcyons dive into the main,
Then show far off their shining plumes again

It is, then, no fault of our first graduates or their successors that they have not yet produced any work of genius or results of a higher order of intellect. It may, however, be said, at least of two of our first graduates, *viz.*, Messrs Ranade and Bhandarkar, that they are not devoid of original thoughts. For their speeches and published writings show that they, especially the former, possess considerable powers of original thinking.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CLOSING CAREER OF MR. RANADI IN BOMBAY.

MR RANADI entered upon his duties as Judge of the High Court, on the 23rd November, 1893, and continued to discharge them almost uninterruptedly up to his death, for, with the exception of privilege leave for a month towards the end of 1900, he took no leave up to the 7th January, 1901, when failing health compelled him to seek rest. He, therefore, took furlough for six months, commencing from the latter date. But he enjoyed leave for little more than a week. For on the 16th January, 1901, he was snatched away by the cruel hand of death with an awful suddenness, as remarked by the Chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, while addressing the Bar on the happening of that mournful and deplorable event, which will be soon noticed at some length.

As might have been expected from his distinguished career as First Class Subordinate Judge, Judge of the Small Cause Court, and Judge under the Deccan Ryots Relief Act, he more than fulfilled the high expectations which

had been formed by the public when he was raised to the Bench of the High Court. Bringing sterling qualities of the head and the heart, a towering intellect, acute powers of observation and appreciating evidence, a sympathetic heart, an eminently judicial and equable temper, unwearying industry, unquestionable uprightness, moderation, soundness of judgment, wonderful patience, unruffled calmness, and a vast legal learning to bear upon the execution of the duties of his high office, he was bound to be a distinguished Judge of the High Court, so he proved himself to be. In fact, he was an ornament of the Bench like his immediate Hindu predecessor and friend Mr. K. T. Telang. He may not have been so brilliant a lawyer as Mr. Telang was. He was, perhaps, more swayed by the considerations of equity than the technicalities and intricacies of law in deciding cases, owing to a habit of mind necessitated by his experience as a Small Cause Court Judge and a Judge under the Ryots Relief Act. But this can hardly be considered as a fault. For, after all, what is law but common sense legalised or codified? And common sense would turn more to equity than to technical rules and precedents not unfrequently varying from each other as much as possible. However, taking him all in all, it cannot be said that Mr. Ranade was wanting in any of the qualities which make a successful Judge of the High Court, judging

from the tribute of respect, esteem and admiration which was paid to his memory by the Chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Hon Mr. Basil Scott, Acting Advocate General, Rao Bahadur V J Kirtikar, Government Pleader and Leader of the Native Bar, the Judges of the Bombay Small Cause Court, the Bombay Presidency Magistrates, and some District Judges in the mofussil. The opinions of the Chief Justice, the Advocate General, and the Government Pleader may be quoted here at some length, as showing what estimate of his character was formed by those who were associated with him in the administration of justice, or who appeared before him as pleaders, and who had thus the best opportunity of knowing what manner of Judge he was.

The Chief Justice, after taking his seat on the Bench along with other Judges of the High Court on the 17th January, 1901, thus addressed the Advocate-General and the Government Pleader regarding Mr Ranade, who had died on the preceding day.—

“The melancholy occasion of our meeting to-day is the great loss which this Court, this Presidency, and, I think, I may, without exaggeration, say the whole country, has sustained by the death of Mr. Justice Ranade. Among those who are here many have enjoyed a longer acquaintance and friendship with him than fell to my lot, but no one can have been associated

with Mr Justice Ranade, even for as brief a space as I had the honour of being his colleague on the Bench of this Court, without recognising in him a profound and sympathetic Judge, possessed of the highest perceptive faculties, and inspired with intense desire to do right. His opinion was of the greatest value to his colleagues, and his decisions will stand in the future as a monument of his erudition and learning. But it is not only an able and distinguished Judge for whom we mourn to day, but a great and good man, whose loss can be reckoned as little short of a public calamity. His death has been pathetic, nay, tragic in its circumstances. It came on him with an awful suddenness at the outset of that short period of well earned rest, which we all hoped would restore him to us with his wonted vigour, in the midst, too, of his valuable literary labours, and, above all, at a critical juncture in the history of his community, whose welfare he had so close at heart, when his sagacity and foresight, his moderation and sympathy can ill be spared. In his career he achieved worthy ends and expectations, and the honours which came to him unsought were, in truth, but the revealing of his virtue and worth. And now he has gone before us, but his memory will ever live with us as a cherished possession, for he has left behind him a precious heritage, the example to us all of a simple, a guileless and noble life.'

The following portion of the reply of the Advocate-General may be quoted here —

“ I know of my own personal knowledge that those who were most frequently associated with him, and had the best opportunities of judging his work on the Bench of the High Court, I mean Mr Justice Jardine and Mr Justice Parsons, always spoke in the warmest terms of his sound judgment, his skill in the appreciation of evidence, and his wide knowledge of the Hindu Law. His industry was almost proverbial, and his courage in battling against infirmities was manifest to all. But while he had great merits as a Judge, I will venture to say that he will be best remembered by his position as a public man and as a leader of the best Hindu thought. As to the power of his intellect, there could be but one opinion, and all those who have heard or read the thoughtful addresses which he delivered from time to time upon questions of public interest must have recognised that in him we have lost a leader of public opinion, whose powerful influence was always exerted on the side of progress and moderation.

The reply of the Government Pleader, Rao Bahadur V J Kirtikar, as representative of the Bar practising on the Appellate side of the Court, where alone Mr Ranade sat, may be given in full, as he had every opportunity of knowing him as Judge. He said, ‘ We, members of the Bar practising on the Appellate side of the

High Court, fully concur in the sentiments your Lordship has expressed relating to Mr. Justice Ranade. I confess I cannot find language adequate to express what we feel respecting the excellent disposition and character of that eminent personage. His long career of usefulness deserves to be noticed in much richer language than I have at my command. It is said that out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh. In my case, however, the mouth speaketh not adequately, because of the fulness of the heart. I knew Mr. Justice Ranade from the time of his College career, and I can confidently assert that the great expectations of which his College life gave indications, were fully realised in his public life. To his extensive reading, his deep insight into complicated and difficult problems of philosophy and history, the students of the Elphinstone College, who heard his lectures at that College, bear ample testimony. His intimate acquaintance with those subjects rendered Mr. Justice Ranade well fitted to take part in all movements of a practical character in which the public were interested. A man endowed with such gifts was certainly destined to rise to eminence in any calling in which his lot was cast. He took to law and rose rapidly in the judicial service, and acquired such eminence in it as to entitle him to a seat on the Bench of this Court. As a Judge Mr. Justice Ranade's career was equally successful.

and satisfactory There was not a single case which he did not thoroughly study before its final disposal, and in the administration of Justice he never suffered himself to be influenced by any extra-judicial consideration Towards the members of the Bar who had the honour of practising before him, Mr Justice Ranade was ever courteous and affable, and by such agreeable manners he had endeared himself to all with whom he came in contact My Lords, in Mr Justice Ranade we have lost one who was at once a sincere friend, a disinterested adviser, an original thinker, an able scholar, a deep read philosopher, and a thoroughly practical man of business We have indeed, lost a precious gem, a great national loss which is simply irreparable My Lords, we deplore—sincerely deplore,—the loss of such a man'

Mr Justice Parsons, who was colleague of Mr Ranade on the Bench of the High Court for some years, in his reply to a farewell address given to him by the Pleaders of the High Court on the eve of his retirement, in April 1900 thus referred to Mr Ranade "I have sat here for many years with my friend, Mr Justice Ranade and I need hardly say what a great advantage it has been to me to have associated with me a colleague whose knowledge of the Law, denominated the Hindu, is so complete and whose experience of the character and veracity of his countrymen is so great'

The *Times of India*, on the retirement of Mr Justice Parsons, thus wrote of Mr Ranade ' For many years past he (Mr Parsons) has sat in the same Court as Mr Justice Ranade The combination is one which will be long remembered with regret Each supplemented the other Mr Justice Ranade supplied an unequalled acquaintance with Hindu Law and with the practical working of a number of the Acts which had to be interpreted by the Court His knowledge of his countrymen was not infrequently of use in throwing light where even his own colleagues experience large as it was, was at fault

Mr Justice (now Sir John) Jardine who was the colleague of Mr Ranade before Mr Parsons on the Appellate side, thus writes about him in a letter of condolence to his widow " He has done great work both in history and literature In social reforms he was both wise and bold and on the Bench of the High Court, as I can well testify, he was able and learned, and so experienced and painstaking was he that his judgments were held in most profound respect

Thus those who had the best opportunities of judging his work on the Bench of the High Court have formed the highest opinion of him as a Judge Indeed, his judgments, the most important of which have been already reported in the Bombay series of the Indian Law Reports,

will, as the Chief Justice remarked, stand as a monument of his erudition and learning. His phenomenal industry was displayed to the best advantage on the Bench of the High Court. For he not only wrote elaborate and learned judgments, but would not admit any appeal, even for hearing, without carefully and minutely examining all the papers of the case to which the appeal referred, at home, as if he was engaged in finally deciding it. This is seldom done by other Judges. This mode of dealing with appeals when they were first presented entailed immense labour upon him, but it prevented the file of appeals from being encumbered with use less untenable appeals which ought never to have been preferred at all, or which deserved to be summarily dismissed, though this procedure made him somewhat unpopular with junior members of the Bar, who are, generally speaking, entrusted with appeals like these.

The duties of a Judge of the High Court, heavy and onerous as they are, were not sufficient to engage the energies of Mr Ranade. Though in Bombay he kept himself aloof in any political movement, as his position as a Judge of the High Court would not allow him to take any part in such a movement, yet other forms of activity, such as educational, literary, social and religious, were still open to him, and he took to them with all the eagerness and earnestness which were characteristic of him.

He used humorously to say of himself that though he was one eyed (the sight of one of his eyes having been almost lost), yet he was not a man of one idea. He consequently could find little difficulty in employing his leisure usefully and profitably.

Let us now notice what he did in connection with the spheres of activity which engaged his attention in Bombay.

Beginning with education, we find him, while in Bombay, taking an active, nay, a prominent part in the government of the University, whether as a Fellow, a Syndic, or a Dean. He most strenuously exerted himself to introduce the neglected vernaculars into the University curriculum. At the commencement of the University examinations in 1859, the vernaculars of the Presidency were included in the second languages, one of which a candidate was required to take up along with English. But in 1870 the predominance of Oxonian Professors in the Councils of the University, such as Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., who thought that no education could be complete without a scholarly knowledge of one of the classical languages, whether European or Asiatic and that the Vernaculars of the country could not compete with any of these, led to the exclusion of the Vernaculars from the higher examinations, in spite of the protest of those who knew one or more of them.

thoroughly, such as the late Dr. Wilson, the celebrated Missionary of Western India, and Sir Raymond West, once a Judge of the High Court and afterwards a member of Council. *This discouragement of the Vernaculars by the University* led to their utter neglect by students to such an extent that graduates and undergraduates of the University, who could write and speak in English with a high degree of fluency, have been found unable to express their ideas and sentiments in their own Vernaculars with any degree of distinctness and correctness, and that very few of them have been found among the authors of Vernacular publications. Those who were expected to enrich their Vernaculars by means of the Western education and culture they have received have been known, as a rule (for there are noteworthy exceptions), to be incapable of expressing themselves intelligibly in their own languages owing to their having neglected to study them. This undesirable state of things led to the growth of an opinion that, whatever may be Western notions of the functions of a University, it is the duty of such a learned body as an Indian University to encourage the study of the Vernaculars by including them in the prescribed course of studies. The Secretary of State for India also came to the rescue of the Vernaculars. For, in a despatch to the Government of Bombay, in 1893, he is said to have

strongly dwelt upon the desirability of the University's promoting the development of them by introducing them into its curriculum. The University authorities twice tried to give effect to the recommendation of the Secretary of State for India by bringing before the Senate a proposal requiring candidates at the previous examination to write an essay in their Vernacular. But that body, on the ground of its increasing the burden of students, rejected the proposal. Mr. Ranade, however, nothing daunted by the Senate's twice or thrice rejecting any proposal in favour of the Vernaculars, even in the mildest possible form, continued the agitation for them, and gave it a shape and a form which ultimately became successful, though to a very limited extent. The first step taken was to send a requisition signed by about 54 Fellows of the University to the Syndicate, proposing to include the Vernaculars in the B A and M A voluntary languages group as alternative languages in lieu of Sanskrit and Persian, which candidates must take up. Mr. Ranade, in an able speech, introduced the proposal at a meeting of the Faculty in Arts which was largely attended. The proposal was hotly discussed. On the votes being taken, the ayes were found equal to the noes. But, unfortunately, the casting vote of the Chairman was given against it. Consequently it was negatived. Mr. Ranade is said to have

remarked that though the question was shelved for the time, yet, like the Home Rule question, it would come up again for discussion. A suggestion was made at the meeting that if the inclusion of the Vernaculars in the second languages were confined to the M A Examination, the proposal would receive a favourable hearing from the Senate. Acting upon this suggestion, Mr Ranade prepared an elaborate essay on the growth of Marathi Literature, showing that Marathi was by no means an uncultured and unrefined language, that it was not wanting in excellent poetical works, and that the paucity of prose works in it is shared by Sanskrit also. At the instance of Mr Ranade the Syndicate appointed a committee consisting of himself, Dr Machican and the Hon Mr P M Mehta to investigate the question whether a place for Marathi and Gujarati could be safely found in the list of second languages at the M A Examination. Eventually the committee submitted a report showing the practicability of the introduction of Marathi and Gujarati as alternative second languages to be taken up with English in the M A language course, and formulating a definite scheme for the purpose. The report, the authorship of which can be easily traced to the strenuous advocate of the Vernaculars, points out that the Vernaculars are living languages, and the study of their growth and variation

is of more practical value than the study of the dead classical languages. The scheme propounded in the report is free from the objections that have been hitherto urged against the introduction of the Vernaculars. For it does not increase the burden of studies, does not make the study of the Vernaculars compulsory, and does not displace any of the classical languages as the necessity of taking up one of these in all the higher examinations except the M A is not dispensed with. Thus the students are not debarred from the mental training and culture which the study of the classics is supposed to impart to them. It should also be borne in mind that the study of the Vernaculars is insisted upon, not because they are as refined and cultured as the Indian classics, but because the University students should have a command over their own Vernaculars, should be able to speak and write in them with ease and correctness, and enrich and develop them by means of the elevating English literature and philosophy which they have studied. The report, mainly written by Mr Ranade, was his last attempt on behalf of the Vernaculars. For before it could be submitted to the discussion of the Senate, he unfortunately died. The Senate, however, after his death, almost unanimously adopted it, adding Canarese to Marathi and Gujarati, recommended in the report, on 29th January, 1901. Thus

the efforts of Mr. Ranade on behalf of the Vernaculars were crowned with what may be termed a posthumous triumph, though it is a partial one, as, it is feared, it will not much encourage the study of the languages. The victory, however, is valuable, as it indicates the insertion of the thin end of the wedge into the opposition to the Vernaculars which, though well meant, ignores the real state of Indian students with regard to the knowledge of their mother tongue, and the paucity of the agencies that exist in the country for promoting such knowledge independently of the University, the colleges and the schools. Let us, then, hope that the mantle of Mr. Ranade will fall upon the shoulders of some Fellow or Fellows of the University, so that they may take up the cause of the Vernaculars and fight for it with the enthusiasm, zeal, patience, perseverance and tact of Mr. Ranade, bearing in mind that if an attempt to gain their further recognition is free from the⁴ objections that are usually urged against it, on the ground of its increasing the burden of studies or substituting an easy Vernacular for a difficult classical language, it will not be frustrated in the present state of the public mind.

The subject of the recognition of the Vernaculars was not the only one which engaged the attention of Mr. Ranade during his stay at Bombay. He also tried to lessen the burden

of studies by giving effect to the principle of what is called examinations by compartments, that is, the principle of exempting students who have creditably passed in a subject or subjects at an examination, but have failed in some other subject or subjects, and have been consequently plucked, from being examined in the same subject or subjects in which they have passed, at a subsequent examination at which they may appear again. For what is the use of students being compelled to prepare again and again subjects in which they have once shewn themselves to be proficient, and being examined in them over and over again? Is it not simply increasing the burden of students who are hardly strong enough to bear the strain of the multifarious subjects which they have to prepare for passing various examinations, as is shown by a number of them prematurely dying? It is strange that those who opposed the introduction of the Vernaculars into the University curriculum on the ground of their increasing the burden of studies should, in the case of examinations by compartments, be averse from lessening that burden for the supposed reason that such examinations would lower the value of University degrees. But the principle involved in Mr. Ranade's proposal has been recognized by some English and Scotch Universities and by the Madras University, and also been given effect to by the Bombay Uni-

versity itself in some of its regulations. If it has not lowered the value of the degrees of those Universities, why should it have such a dire effect at Bombay only? By bringing forward such reasons as these, Mr Ranade ultimately succeeded in persuading the Senate to pass the resolution on this point. But unfortunately the then Governor of Bombay, in his capacity as Chancellor of the University, led away by the opinions of his unsympathetic advisers and of the Anglo Indian Press, conducted by journalists, most of whom have received no University or college education at all, and know nothing about the Government of English Universities, yet are very positive and dogmatic in their criticism of any scheme connected with the administration of our University that does not suit their preconceived notions, vetoed the proposal.

How the strain of multifarious studies necessitated by various University examinations acts injuriously upon students who have to undergo these examinations and makes them fall easy victims to disease and death is best shown by Mr. Ranade's lecture, delivered by him before the Bombay Graduates' Association on the 15th April, 1894, published in the April number of the Quarterly Journal of the Sarvajanik Sabha, and also separately in a pamphlet form. The lecture is a sort of rejoinder to Dr R G Bhandar-

kar's address, delivered by him in his capacity of Vice Chancellor at the Convocation of the University in 1894. In that address the learned doctor held that though the premature mortality among the Hindus was disproportionately larger, being 42 and 22 per cent as against 16½ and 9½ among the Parsees, yet this difference was attributable to bad social customs Sedentary habits, poverty of food, and not to the strain of studies in the University curriculum to which these deaths were popularly ascribed He also complained of the languid interest taken by the graduates in the prosecution of any favourite branch of study in after life, and their distaste for literary work But Dr. Bhandarker's inquiry was confined only to the first eighteen years of the University, and that, too, to classes of graduates in arts only. Mr. Ranade, however, inquiring into all classes of graduates from the beginning, that is from 1862 when the University began to turn out graduates up to the close of 1893, that is, for a period of little more than 30 years, found that the mortality was the highest among the Maratha graduates from 4 among L C E's to 21 per cent. among M A's, that it was the lowest among the Gujarathis from 2 among L C E's to 8 per cent. among L M. and S's, and that the Parsees came between the two from 2½ among L M S's to 12½ among M.A.'s Now the same sort of social customs pre

vail among Gujarathis as among Marathas. Social customs, then, cannot be a predominant factor in causing a deplorably high rate of mortality among graduates. It cannot be maintained that Marathas are more apathetic, more sedentary and lazier than Gujarathis. But the former are certainly poorer than the latter or Parsees. Poverty may partly account for the high mortality among Maratha graduates, but is not the sole cause of the deplorable result. For even among Parsees who are not as poor as Marathas, and are as such as perhaps richer than Gujarathis, the rate of mortality among their M.A.'s is as high as $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, that is, 120 per thousand. The most potent factor in causing this havoc among graduates is rightly traced by Mr. Ranade to the over-strain of studies and examinations, the effect of which may be likened to that which the sugar-cane undergoes when it comes out of the crushing machine, which squeezes all juice out of it and leaves it a sapless, worthless, and wretched looking stalk.

Dr Bhandarker, in his Convocation address, rightly deplores the languid interest taken by our graduates in the prosecution of any favourite branch of study in after life and their distaste for literary work. But what better things could be expected from men whose physique, by no means naturally strong or stout, is enfeebled by the strain of perpetual exami-

nations and multifarious studies, whose vitality is crushed out of them and who become prematurely old and decay, and die before their time. The wonder is not that they do so little in the way of study and research, but that under these unfavourable circumstances, some men, though few in number, have been still found in the ranks of graduates, such as Dr Bhandarker, Mr Ranade, the late Mr S P Pandit, the late Mr M M Kunte and others mentioned in Mr Ranade's lecture under review, who have displayed praiseworthy activity in the pursuit of their special studies in after life. All praise is then due to those who, like Mr Ranade, have striven hard to lessen the burden of studies. Their efforts may not have been successful but they have had the proud satisfaction of having done their duty in spite of the stubborn opposition of unsympathetic men and of obloquy and ridicule that have been hurled against them by those who ought to have known better. It is no matter of surprise, then, that Mr Ranade was so popular among the student class, as he proved himself to be their genuine and energetic friend and benefactor. His popularity with students was unmistakably evinced by hundreds of them attending his funeral and vying with one another in bearing his mortal remains to the cremation ground.

In connection with Mr Ranade's taking an active part in the management of the affairs

of the University, may be mentioned his securing a great portion of the legacy of a large sum of money bequeathed by the late Sir Mungaldas Nathubhai to that body without any litigation. The munificent bequest of the Bania knight was disputed by his heirs on some grounds. Though the grounds were not tenable, yet the heirs threatened to establish their contention by means of a suit. But the tact and the conciliating spirit of Mr. Ranade were conspicuously shown in this transaction, which was mainly conducted by him. The heirs of Sir Mungaldas, through his persuasive influence, were induced to hand over to the University about three and a half lakhs of rupees in pursuance of their father's bequest. The money was applied in founding scholarships to be awarded to University students on condition of their proceeding to Europe for prosecuting studies in technical or industrial education.

Mr. Jamsetji Tata's scheme for founding a post-graduate University of research found in Mr. Ranade an active and able supporter. That philanthropic and wealthy Parsee merchant has offered a princely sum of Rs. 30 lakhs for founding a University of research, for enabling graduates to devote their attention and learning to make investigations and researches in different branches of knowledge or science. Though the sum of money offered by Mr. Tata for this purpose is a large one, yet

it is found not to be sufficient to carry out the scheme into practice without substantial support from other quarters Mr Ranade, as was usual with him to lend countenance to any work of public utility, very energetically and actively supported the scheme From some correspondence on this subject that was shown to me by Mr. Ranade in May, 1900, at Lonavla, I thought that if any person, besides the donor and his indefatigable secretary, Mr. Padsha, was earnestly and enthusiastically interested in setting the scheme afloat, it was Mr Ranade Let us hope that the scheme intended for the advancement of science by our graduates will soon reach the stage of an accomplished fact, though Mr Ranade did not live to see the realization of the project

It was during his stay in Bombay that his essays on Indian Economics were published in 1900 The work is a collection of his essays and speeches on Economical and Industrial subjects This was followed by the first volume of the *Rise and Progress of the Maratha Power*, published also in 1900 This is, perhaps, the best of his works, and will, together with his *Essays on Indian Economics* and his numerous contributions to the *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha*, now unfortunately extinct, be a lasting monument of his genius, learning, varied information and industry. This volume, together with other works,

is particularly noticed in a separate chapter devoted to this purpose Suffice to say that he did not live to complete the second volume of this work in which he intended to describe the Rise and Progress of the Maratha Power from the beginning of the Maratha History to the end of the reign of Shahu Raja, the grandson of Shivaji, and the last of his race who ruled as a King Only one chapter of the second volume appears to have been written Originally this historical work was intended to be the joint production of the late Mr. Telang and Mr Ranade But Beaumont died before it could be commenced Fletcher, however, took up the task as a sort of legacy bequeathed by his esteemed and beloved friend But death, alas! also overtook Fletcher before he could write the second volume of this work With a view to preparing the second volume Mr. Ranade appears to have devoted most of his leisure during the last two or three years of his life to the perusal of the selections of the Peishwas Diaries, commencing with the accession of Shahu Raja, and ending with the close of the reign of Bajirao II, the last of the Peishwas, as will be seen from his introduction to the Diaries read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and published also in a pamphlet form How heavy the reading must have been will be seen from the fact that the Diaries cover about 20 000 folio pages, in-

cluding the English summary prepared in the Poona Duftar Office. The selection, says Mr. Ranade, covers a period of over hundred years (1708 to 1816-17) and furnish most valuable materials for writing a true history of the people. Had his life been spared two or three years more, he would have written such a history. But, unfortunately for the people of Maharashtra, Providence ruled otherwise.

The introduction to the Peishwas' Diaries is a very interesting paper reviewing the Civil, Criminal and Revenue Administration of the Peishwas.

While in the midst of a very useful career, judicial, educational, literary, religious and social (for at Bombay, as at Poona and elsewhere, he was full of religious and social reform activity, frequently delivering instructive sermons and lectures at the church of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj, preparing for the gathering of each year's social conference, which took place after the Indian National Congress, wherever the latter was held, and editing a Report of the past year's conference), he was suddenly seized with a severe attack of diarrhœa towards the end of July, 1900, which, lasting for two or three days, yielded to the treatment of Sir Bhalchandra Krishna and to the careful nursing of his wife Ramabai. For, according to his brother, Mr. Nilkanthrao, he owed his recovery as much to the nursing of his wife who watched at his

bedside night and day, with assiduous care, and who, alas! is now a widow, as to the skill of the knighted doctor who treated him. Though he apparently recovered from the attack of diarrhœa, yet its after effects were disastrous. For it undermined his strength, rendered him extremely weak and bloodless, and aggravated the symptoms of heart disease which had manifested themselves now and then ever since he had suffered from a choleraic diarrhœa towards the end of 1890 and the beginning of 1891. Even 40 years ago, the late Dr Bhau Daji, one of the first graduates of Grant Medical College, and the most distinguished of them all alike for his medical skill and scholarship while treating him for some complaint, noted that his heart was particularly weak, and advised him to take care not to put any undue strain upon it. Though since 1891 he was troubled now and then with palpitations of the heart yet they were never of a serious nature. But since his last illness they increased to cardiac spasms from which he frequently suffered, and always at bed time between 10 to 11 p.m. The pain however, was relieved by fomentation and by some antispasmodic medicines. The following extract from his letter, dated 10th September, 1900, to the writer of this sketch, shows the nature of his last sickness —“ I was very glad to receive your kind letter. My mere sickness this time was not the diarrhœa, but

the after effects of it. I suffered from complete exhaustion of nervous powers. After about 10 or 15 days this nervous depression showed itself in pain in the right and left hands and in the upper chest. I used to get these pains every day after 9 p.m. in the night, and they were very bad and made me uneasy. I still get them, but after an interval of three or four days. They are supposed to be due to gases accumulating in the upper part of the stomach. The doctors say that when I get my usual strength, they will subside. I was at home for nearly five weeks and commenced to attend the Court this week. I intend to go on leave after the October vacation, when I hope to go to Mahableshwar. As rest was absolutely necessary for the restoration of his health, he took leave for a month, and went to Bandra and Matheran for change of air. There he regained some strength, but not much, and returned to Bombay and rejoined his appointment, though he was hardly in a condition to resume work. His doctors, therefore, advised him to take long leave. He consequently applied for furlough for six months, beginning on 7th January, 1901, that is, after the Christmas holidays of the High Court. In the meantime, though resting from Court business, he continued his studies, his voluminous correspondence and other work relating to social reform. During the Christmas holidays he intended to go to Lahore to

attend the Social Conference which was to be held there after the meeting of the National Congress was over, and of which he was the Secretary, and, in fact, the life and soul. Every preparation was made for the long journey to Lahore. The annual inaugural address was ready to be delivered. A reserved first class carriage was engaged. But on the day of starting he got a severe attack of angina, consequently his medical adviser, Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, dissuaded him from undertaking the journey. He had, therefore, to forego his intended visit to Lahore, and went to Lonavla instead.

But though Lonavla is an agreeable cool sanitarium in the hot weather, being situated on the top of the Sayadri range, yet in the cold season it is perhaps too cold for a Hindu invalid. Hence he did not fare well there, and caught a chill accompanied by a troublesome cough. After a few days stay there, he was taken back to Bombay in a rapidly declining state of health. The change to the warmer climate of Bombay, however, soon brought him relief, and he appeared to be in his usual state of health, taking long drives and walking about two miles in the company of his devoted wife and brother in the evening, and resuming his studious and laborious life (his latest studies being the Upanishads, Milner's *History of Christianity* and Mr. Justin McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*) in spite

of the remonstrances of his doctors. When much pressed by them to desist from such a laborious life for a time at least, he would say what was the use of living when one could not work. Was not death preferable to a life of inactivity and uselessness?

On Wednesday, the 16th January, 1901, he appeared to be very cheerful and in the best of spirits, so much so that he telephoned to one of his doctors not to attend his bungalow at night. Latterly it was found necessary to keep a doctor near at hand at night, to meet any emergency that might occur. But alas! the event proved that it was only a momentary brightening of the lamp before it was extinguished. After doing all the business of the day, he took a drive with his wife and brother and walked about a mile in their company. On his returning home in the evening, a telegram announcing the sudden death of Rai Bahadur Kantichund Mukarji Divan, of Jaipore, and a member of the Famine Commission at Nagpur, was read out to him. When he, after expressing his regret at the unexpected event, exclaimed "But what a happy death to die while one is working." Strange to say, his wish was fulfilled a couple of hours after this exclamation. Soon afterwards he dictated, according to his brother, 18 letters, had a chapter of Mr. Justin McCarthy's History of Our Own Times read out to him,

and received visitors (Mr Bhagavandas Madh avdas son of that well known advocate of the re marriage of widows, Mr Bhajekar, a pleader of the High Court, who has married a widow, and a few others), who wished to consult him regarding a widow re marriage among Bhatias, which was to have taken place next day. As this was the first widow re marriage among Bhatias, he advised them to celebrate the event with great *clat*. The proposal of the gentlemen to invite the wife of the Governor, Lady Northcote, to grace the occasion with her presence, met with his approval. But when they requested Mrs Ranade to approach Lady Northcote for this purpose she consented to this proposal, provided there was no disturbance in her husband's health. Her mind being aside, occupied by a presentiment of the coming evil. But Mr Ranade had no such gloomy forebodings at all. He entered heart and soul into the proposal, and, with his usual curiosity, inquired into the caste, the age, the occupation and relations of the parties about to be married, and poured forth such an amount of information upon their caste when it was mentioned to him as to astonish his visitors. After their departure he went to his supper. After it was done he had some hymns from the prayer book of the Prarthana Samaj sung to him by some female members of the family. But symptoms of the coming catastrophe began

to appear. They, however, soon abated, and he went to bed at about 9.45 P.M., and slept soundly for half an hour. At about 10.15 P.M. he suddenly awoke, complaining of a slight pain in the region of the heart. The pain soon increased and became so agonising that he exclaimed that it was better to die than bear such intense pain. It was apparent that he was seized with a strong fit of angina pectoris. As medical aid was urgently needed his brother Nilkanthrao and a friend after telephoning to Sir Bhalchandra to come with all possible speed, hastened to a neighbouring Parsee Doctor, Mr Jehangirji. But when the doctor came he found that he was dying and that nothing could be done to arrest the progress of that fatal disease. Resting his reclining head upon the shoulders of his beloved wife he said to her that he was dying and after vomiting blood calmly passed away at about 10.30 P.M. leaving behind him his wife, sister, step mother, and two step brothers, Nilkanth *alias* Aba, who is employed in the Indore State, and Shripad *alias* Baba, who is an L.M. and S., and was one of those who were sent on medical duty to South Africa by Mr Damodardas but no children. Thus, he, who a couple of hours ago, lamented the death of Rai Bahadur Mukarji and wished to die working like him, suddenly died in harness. His sad and sudden death will not fail to

morning papers, hundreds of people flocked to his bungalow on Pedder Road, Malabar Hill to pay their respects to the memory of one whom they revered, admired, or loved as a great and good man, and to offer their condolences to his bereaved family. Among the earlier arrivals were the Chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, who brought with him a large floral wreath, Mr Justice Crowe, Mr Justice Chindavarker, Mr R D Setna, Registrar of the High Court on the Appellate side, Mr Jamsetji N Tata, and Mr Lowndes. They were followed by Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt, the doctor who treated him during his last illness. Mr R. M. Patel, a Judge of the Small Cause Court, Prof A V Kathavte, Messrs Tribhewandas Mungaldas Nathoobhoy, Ardesir Framji, L E Setlur, N G Velinkar, Virchand Dupchand, Rao Bahadur V J Kartikar (Government Pleader, High Court), Rao Bahadur N T Vaidya, Drs Palekar and Shantaram Vethul, Messrs P K Telang (son of the late Mr Justice Telang), V B and K B Wagle (sons of Mr Balla Mungesh Wagle, one of the fellow graduates of Mr. Ranade), D G Padhye, B N Bhajekar, B M Pandit, Ballaji Pandurang, S R Bakhale, N V Bhandare, T N Bhende, V S Arjune, R N Parmanand, D P Mehta, S V. Bhandarkar, G N Nadkarni, V. K. Bhatvadekar, D A Khare, N. V. Mandlik, P T Kopikar, B N Petale, H N Bhad

hamkar, R. B. Telang, M. R. Bodas, R. G. Gupte, and several other gentlemen

The funeral party left the house at about 10 a.m. The body was placed upon a simple Hindu bier, and was covered with a white shawl, the neck being garlanded with the floral wreath brought by the Chief Justice. The chief mourner, his brother Nilkantrao, carried the sacred fire for lighting the funeral pyre in an earthen pot in front of the bier, according to Hindu custom. The English Judges of the High Court followed the procession as far as the corner of the Pedder Road, the rest of the gentlemen accompanied it as far as the burning ground. The Chief Justice, who showed remarkable sympathy, wanted to follow the procession as far as the burning ground, but was dissuaded from the attempt. As the procession passed from the Pedder Road to Gowalia Tank, thence to the Queen's Road, hundreds of students from the Liphinstone, Grant Medical and Wilson Colleges and from the Aryan Society's High School joined it, and were anxious to help in carrying on their shoulders the bier upon which were placed the mortal remains of one who was one of their best and truest friends. Before the procession reached the burning ground, opposite the Marine Lines Railway Station, it presented the striking spectacle of a vast assemblage of mourners of different castes and creeds quietly and for-

rowfully following the bier, such, as it was said, had never been witnessed at the funeral of any other public man in Bombay before. The Mahomedans, through a mistaken notion that their presence at the funeral would be objectionable stayed away. For the members of his family, inheriting his catholic spirit would have welcomed them as much as they did Europeans and Parsees, and removed the prohibition preventing non Hindus from entering the premises of the burning ground in order to comply with the wishes of some Parsee students to have a last look at his face on the funeral pyre. They also allowed the different sects of Brahmins to carry the bier, which is not generally done. But they would have acted still more in accordance with the catholic spirit of one who was a Hindu to Hindus a Parsee to Parsees and a Mahomedan to Mahomedans, as was observed by a Parsee pleader (Mr Ardesir Bezonji) while describing his character in the Small Causes Court, had they allowed Hindus of all castes at least to bear the bier. The Mahomedans, though absent from the funeral procession, were not slow in showing their respect to the memory of the deceased. For it was remarked that when Mahomedan gentlemen in carriages, encountered the procession, they alighted therefrom and stood still in a reverential attitude till it had passed. At last the procession reached the burning-

ground at about 12 noon. The body was then placed upon a funeral pyre made up of sandal wood. And his brother Nilkantrao performed the mournful duty of lighting it after the funeral rites had been performed by orthodox Brahmins and also by members of the Prarthana Samaj of which the deceased was one of the earnest and devoted members and also President. While preparations for cremation were being made Sir Bhalchandra Krishna delivered the following touching address at the pyre —

‘ Brethren,—A great light has set in the Indian firmament. The sadness and misery I see depicted in every face before me is an indication of how deeply you feel the loss. The Hon. Mr. Justice Ranade was a saint in every sense of the word, and it is his saintly character which appeals to us most at this time. His learning, his industry, his great intellectual power were all so unique as to demand admiration, but it was his loving disposition, his absolute firmness, his sympathy for the weak and the distressed, the noble forgiveness of his heart and his indomitable perseverance which formed a combination so rare that it may be truly said of him that, taken for all in all we may not be able to see the like of him again. To the members of his family, his wife, his sister, his brothers, the loss is immeasurable beyond conception but if it can

give them any consolation, let us all assure them that we are sharers in their grief. The death of Rao Bahadur Ranade is the loss not of any individual or of a family or even of this or that community. It is the country's loss, the loss of our age, the loss of all time to come. Such high souled men are the rare products of an age. And whenever they disappear, they leave a void which it is not easy to fill. Our duty at this time of affliction is to humbly pray to God that the dear departed soul may find eternal peace and absolution. We have also a duty to do to the survivors. As I have said, we all feel the death of Rao Bahadur Ranade as a personal loss. But we cannot ignore the fact that there are some persons who are weighed down with even greater grief than ourselves. The noble lady who watched by the bedside and is now a poor widow, the aged sister who was almost like a mother to him and the woeful brother we see before us, all claim our hearty sympathy. Let us pray that God may give them strength and fortitude to bear their heavy affliction with patience and self command. Gentlemen, my feelings are too strong for me to allow me to speak more. Let us depart in respectful silence.

Mr. Vaidya, Head Master of the Aryan Society's High School, also delivered a similar address. Afterwards the assembly dispersed. After the body had been cremated the ashes were

extinguished with milk as is often done in the case of a great personage among Hindus, and were subsequently sent to Allahabad to be consigned to the Triveni or the confluence of three rivers the Ganges the Jamna and the Saraswati, in accordance with the wishes of his aged sister

The profound grief that was caused by the death of Mr Ranade was not confined simply to Bombay, but was universally felt throughout the length and breadth of India, judging from the numerous expressions of sorrow and regret that the sad event evoked. Nearly a thousand telegrams and letters of condolence were received by Mrs Ranade or his brother Nilkantrao from the highest to the lowest, from His Excellency the Viceroy, His Excellency the Governor of Bombay His Honor the Lt Governor of Bengal through the Hon Mr P M Metha, His Highness the Maharaja Gaikwad, His Highness the Maharaja Holkar, His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur, some other chiefs, from various public bodies and private individuals of both sexes from Kashmere in the North to Madura in the South, from Rangoon in the East to Peshawar in the West. Meetings were held in different parts of India for giving expression to the heartfelt sorrow of the public, caused by this national calamity and for sending telegrams or letters of condolence to his family. Ladies vied with gentlemen not only in sending

letters and telegrams of condolence to the family but in holding public meetings for this purpose. One educated lady, Mrs Kashibai Kanitkar, wife of a Subordinate Judge and a Marathi authoress of considerable merit, sent a short but characteristic telegram to Mrs Ranade, saying "Think not that you alone are in grief." Memorial services were held in the Prarthana Samaj Mandirs or churches at Bombay, Poona and some other places. The Memorial service at Poona was feelingly conducted by his fellow graduate and life long friend Dr. R G Bhandarkar, C I E, who, being in Poona at the time of his death, was prevented, like some other friends, from attending the funeral owing to their not having received the sad news of his death in time to catch the earliest train that would have enabled them to be present on the occasion.

The telegram of H E the Viceroy communicated to Mrs Ranade through the Private Secretary of H. E the Governor of Bombay, and the letter of the latter himself to her may be quoted here, as they show the esteem in which Mr Ranade was held by the highest in the land. The Private Secretary says "The Viceroy has telegraphed desiring that the expression of his sincere condolences be conveyed to you in your melancholy loss.

' H E. the Viceroy feels that in him the community has lost a man who was not only a

distinguished Judge but also a devoted and life-long worker for the higher moral and intellectual interests of his countrymen ”

Lord Northcote, the Governor of Bombay through his Private Secretary says “ The Hon Mr Justice Ranade will be long remembered in this Presidency and in the whole of India as one of the foremost thinkers and sincerest workers, and his courage and determination in striving after reform have given him a position in this Presidency unique in recent years The loss is a public one and his death will be deplored not only by the members of his family (with whom their Excellencies so deeply sympathise) but by the whole of the Presidency, without distinction of caste, race or creed ’

Lord Northcote, moreover, in his convocation address delivered in his capacity as Chancellor, has paid a graceful tribute to the memory of one who was perhaps the most highly finished product of our University In his address he thus alludes to Mr Ranade—“ But from the time of his return in 1893 as a Judge in the High Court he rendered important aid in the Government of his University. As Syndic and as Dean, he devoted his great talents to his University's service , by his tact and personal influence he secured for it, by amicable arrangement, the munificent endowment left by the late Sir Mangaldas Nathuboy, of some three

and a half lakhs, by which the University has profited so much. I am conscious, gentlemen, how inadequately my words express our sense of the loss we have sustained. None, indeed, were required in the case of so illustrious a member of the University. Other tongues and pens will hand his name down to posterity; all I ask to night is permission to associate my name with your own in an expression of deep sympathy with Mr Justice Ranade's family, and sorrow at the loss India has sustained.

The following Government Resolution was issued under date the 22nd January — "H. E. the Governor in Council has learnt with deep regret the news of the death of the Hon. Mr Justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade, C. I. E. M. A. LL. B., one of the judges of her Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Bombay, and desires to record his sympathy with the members of Mr Ranade's family in their bereavement. In Mr Ranade's death the country has lost a most distinguished and faithful public servant, conspicuous alike by the profundity of his learning, the sobriety of his judgment, and the manly independence of his character. It is strange that with such highly complimentary opinions entertained, not only by the general public but also by the highest in the land, the honour of Vice-Chancellorship or of Knighthood should not have been conferred upon him. It may be asked how many

Vice Chancellors and Knights Bachelor can claim possession of the qualities and achievements that are freely attributed to him by the Governor General and the Governor of Bombay. Even the University of Bombay failed to discharge her duty towards the ablest and most brilliant of her sons by not conferring upon him the honorary degree of LL D, but it is hardly necessary to refer to this subject any further, as Mr Ranade cared for none of these worldly honours and distinctions or even for any promotion in his own branch of service. For when the late Mr Telang was elevated to the Bench of the High Court in supersession of the claims of Mr Ranade, the latter never uttered a word of complaint or disappointment. And when the matter was referred to by his friends he would silence them by saying that it was hardly worthy of any consideration or talk at all. Not only did he not refer to or allow anybody else to mention it, but he gladly attended the evening party that was given by the friends of Mr Telang in honour of his being appointed a Judge of the High Court, and made the best speech, highly eulogizing his friend and former pupil, Mr Telang.

The conduct of the Governor General, of the Governor and of the University of Bombay in failing to suitably recognise the services while he was living, and after his death readily coming forward to confer upon him what may be called

posthumous honours by means of highly complimentary terms will perhaps remind the reader of the fate of Homer thus described in the lines of the poet

"Seven cities claim for Homer dead,
Through which the living Homer begged his bread

Our celebrated sage Ramadas, may again be quoted in connection with the fame of Mr Ranade—

“देह त्यागिता कीर्ति मागे उरावी ।
मना सज्जना हेचि क्रीया धरावी ॥
मना चदनाचे परी त्वा क्षिजावें ।
परी अतरी सज्जना निव्वावे ॥”

This excellent Shloka may be thus translated

‘ O thoughtful mind
Act like the fragrance giving sandal wood,
That wears itself out only to do good
So when thou throwest the mortal coil away
Thy fame shall live to the remotest day

Who can say that Mr. Ranade did not act up to this advice of the sage to the fullest extent, and that his fame will not live to the remotest day in spite of his not having been knighted, or of his not having been made an LL D, or Vice-Chancellor ? For he has done more to serve his countrymen than any other man, official or non official, that could be named, more than even the best of those who talk glibly of the silvery fetters of Government servants, disqualifying them to do good to their country or their fellow men What did Mr

A O Hume who is regarded and venerated as the father of the National Congress say of him? If there was one man in India (said he on one occasion) 'who for the whole 24 hours in the day thought of his country that man was Mr Ranade. He therefore called him his Guru Mahadeo. But Mr Ranade did not simply think of his country but worked night and day to promote its welfare through constitutional means. In fact, he fell a victim to overwork gone through not only to discharge his official duties but to do good to his country. 'Work work work and no play' was his motto which perhaps was not a wise one from the hygienic point of view. But such it was. What water is to the fish that work was to Mr Ranade. It was his element. He breathed in it and lived for it. We have already noticed how he exclaimed 'what a happy death to die while one is working' when he heard the news of the sudden death of Rai Bahadur Mukurji just a few hours before his own death. Though he possessed a robust constitution yet it could not bear the ceaseless strain to which it was subjected day and night for upwards of 40 years. He thought that sleep for three or four hours was sufficient for all refreshing purposes. Even that modicum of sleep he could not get in later years. For that ever working brain often could not rest even for three or four hours. Devoting

four or five hours to dining, taking bodily exercise in the form of walking, and other necessary purposes, and three or four hours for sleep, the rest of the 24 hours of the day was incessantly given up to work. Though he lay on his bed from eleven p.m. to five or six a.m. yet he actually slept only for three or four hours and not infrequently for less than that time. The rest of the night was given up to thinking what he had to do. Though the results of his work are splendid, yet we have lost the worker sooner than was expected and before his work was even half finished.

Must still believe for still we hope
That in a world of larger scope
What here is faithfully begun
Will be completed not undone

India is said to be the brightest jewel in the British Crown. And Mr. Ranade may be said to have been the brightest jewel in the crown of India. For when we think of that many-sided Gladstonian activity which could not rest contented without betaking itself to different spheres of human thought, that gigantic intellectual strength which could cope with any question, whether relating to politics, religion, sociology, economics or any other department of human endeavour with a subtlety, acumen and breadth of view, almost unrivalled in these days of commonplace mediocrity, that capacity for taking infinite pains which is said to be a mark of genius that tact whose recent defini-

tion appears to be delicacy of genius which could demolish specious arguments and hasty generalizations based upon superficial observations and scanty statistics, without hurting the feelings of their expounders resembling the gentle operation of the busy bee that takes the honey but does not wound the flower (a quality which must be said, with regret, could be seldom found in most of his opponents), above all that kindness of heart and sympathetic disposition which underlay all his utterances and all his actions of which made him take such a lively interest in the affairs even of his humblest friends, cheering up the sick, consoling the afflicted, and helping the needy, when we consider the numerous qualities of head and heart, and which made him the Prince of Graduates, who can say that such was not the case? Our Mahommedan friends, in one of their prayers to Allah, cry, "Nabi ku Bejo (send a prophet) Let us pray to God to send another Ranade, a prophet of peace and progress to enlighten us in the ways of many sided reform

Mr Ranade was not only popular with all classes of the people, but was also held in high esteem by Government, as will be seen from the Government Resolution which was passed after his death, and in which he was deservedly praised for his distinguished services rendered to the public, his profound scholarship, his

sobriety of judgment, and his manly independence of character.

When this high esteem of Government and of the people at large is borne in mind, the following Sanskrit *Shloka* can be justly applied to him —

नरपति हितकर्ता द्वेष्यता याति लोके
जनपद हितकर्ता त्यज्यते पार्थिवन ।
इति महति विरोधे विद्यमाने समाने
नृपति जनपदानां दुर्लभः कार्यं कर्ता ॥ १ ॥

The *Shloka* may be thus translated

He who strives for the people's well being
Is suspected and shunned by the King,
He who sides with the power of the crown
Has ever to encounter the people's frown
But he who by the people and the King
Is liked alike O' Muse his praises sing
For such beings are rarely to be seen
As they utmost are few and far between

This chapter will be fittingly closed with a short description of the person and character of Mr Ranade. Mr Ranade was a person of a tall stature, fair complexion, heavy bulk and robust constitution. Being rather of a Socratic appearance, he had hardly any striking features except his broad prominent forehead, his benign smiling countenance and his commanding and dignified presence, which immediately inspired respect for him in whomsoever came in contact with him. The most remarkable thing about him was his face, beaming with intelligence, calm serenity, sweet gentleness, and lively cheerfulness, and

seeming as it were animated and brightened by the great soul within. But the shortcomings of his bodily make were more than compensated by the numerous qualities of head and heart, which made him a remarkable man, standing above his contemporaries by head and shoulders as will be seen from what has been said in a former chapter. Among those qualities must be mentioned a clear and penetrating intellect allied to what Wordsworth calls "The vision and the faculty divine," a strong retentive memory, keen powers of observation and criticism, grasping as it were intuitively what is fundamental in every question for consideration or discussion, sobriety and soundness of judgment, a strong common sense, untiring industry, unwearied patience, and a dispassionate and equable temper that was never ruffled by the loquacious, long drawn and often irrelevant arguments of the *Moffusil Bar*. These qualities formed the foundation of his high reputation as a Judge, which has been testified to not only by the unanimous voice of public opinion, but also by the Judges of the High Court. In an appeal from his decree as First Class Subordinate Judge of Poona in the case reported at page 126, *I L R*, 4 Bombay, Sir Michael Westropp, then Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, observed "The claim for the specific performance of the contract was decreed by the 1st class Sub Judge of Poona (Mr M. G.

Ranade) in an elaborate judgment, which is a testimony to his industry and ability " It was in this or some other case he is reported to have said "This is the judgment of one who deserves a seat beside me "

It may not be uninteresting to briefly state the facts of this case, as its decision by Mr Ranade shows that he was not a law ridden Judge, but one who unhesitatingly enforced the principles of equity and natural justice in deciding the cases that came before him The plaintiff in the case under notice offered to purchase certain immovable property belonging to a widow for Rs 14,000, and proposed to pay a deposit of Rs 1,000 as earnest money On the acceptance of the offer by the widow, through her solicitors, he deposited the earnest money with them and obtained a receipt for the sum from them which was not registered Subsequently the widow changed her mind and sold the property for a larger sum than what had been offered by the plaintiff by a registered deed of sale to third persons, who had notice of her prior contract with him for sale of the same property In a suit brought by the plaintiff against her and her vendors for specific performance of the contract, Mr Ranade, perceiving the fraud that was practised by the widow in collusion with her vendors on the strength of a registered document which was given, accepted and registered in fraud of a third party, held that the

deed could not be entitled to the benefit of Section 48 of the Indian Registration Act (No. VIII. of 1871), which was then in force and which gave priority to registered, over unregistered documents. The registration therefore, of a document of title, which was procured in fraud of a third party possessing a prior equitable title and with an actual notice of his prior contract did not deprive such a party of his priority. To hold otherwise would be to act contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Act, which was meant to frustrate, not to promote, fraud by protecting unwary but *bona fide* purchasers of property which had been already alienated by their vendors by a deed wanting the publicity of registration. This equitable ruling of Mr Ranade was upheld by the High Court, as stated above.

In another case of a similar nature as regards fraud, the ruling of Mr Ranade has conferred a real boon upon poor, illiterate and indebted ryots or cultivators whom their shrewd *sarkars* or creditors have induced to execute deeds of sale of their lands in their favour by falsely representing to them that the deed would be treated as mortgage, securing the debt they owed to them, and not a sale. But when they offered to redeem the mortgaged property by paying off the debt, they were told they had already conveyed all their interest in the property to their creditors, and

could not now recover it. If they went to Court to prove that simultaneously with the execution of the deed of sale, there was an oral agreement for their recovering the property on the payment of the money secured by the deed, they found that Section 92 of the Indian Evidence Act I of 1872, according to which no evidence of any oral agreement or statement shall be admitted for the purpose of contradicting, varying, adding to or subtracting from the terms of a written document, precluded them from doing so. Some such case occurred while Mr. Ranade was holding the office of First Class Subordinate Judge of Dhulia, invested with Appellate powers in 1879-80. The Munsiff, who heard the case in the first instance, thinking himself bound hand and foot by the provisions of the Evidence Act, quoted above, decided the case against the executant of the deed, which purported to be a deed of sale, but was really meant to be a mortgage, as many Munsiffs or Subordinate Judges had done before him. But Mr. Ranade, in deciding the appeal from the Court of first instance, equitably held that although *parole* evidence could not be admitted to prove directly that simultaneously with the execution of a bill of sale, there was an oral agreement by way of defeasance, yet the Court would look to the subsequent conduct of the parties, and if it clearly appeared from such conduct that the

apparent vendee treated the transaction as one of mortgage, the Court would give effect to it as a mortgage and not a sale. The decision of Mr Ranade was upheld by the High Court in an elaborate judgment, which will be found at page 594, I L R , 4 Bombay, and has tended to afford relief to numerous owners of lands whose necessities have compelled them to execute nominal deeds of sale at the bidding of their creditors, relying upon their promise that the deeds would be treated as mortgages. Many such instances of his equitable decisions will be found, but those mentioned above are sufficient for this purpose.

Of the numerous judgments of Mr Ranade which he delivered in his capacity of a Judge of the High Court, the most important of which are spread over the pages of the Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series, from 1893 to 1901, and which, as the Chief Justice remarked, will be a monument of his learning and erudition, and (it may be added) of his profound sense of justice and clearness of vision, one may be quoted here (as there is no room for quoting more), the case of the Queen-Empress v. Kalyanji, reported at page 758, Vol XVIII I L. Reports Bombay Series. The case was an offshoot of the Bombay Riots of 1893. In that case the accused composed and published a poem in Gujarati, "giving an account of the outbreak and in-

cidentally extolling certain classes of the Hindu community, namely, the Ghatīs and the Kamatis for the brave resistance which they had offered to the Mohamedan rioters,' and extolling the Ghatīs and the Kamatis in the following lines —

My God give glory to you confer joy on you night and day

Fight again for your country's good

Brave brave are the Kamatis

Why fear for dying brother, why fear for dying?

Sooner or later but only once a man has to die!

The accused were prosecuted by Government and convicted by the Chief Presidency Magistrate under the Penal Code, on the ground that the lines quoted above, especially words "Fight again" were calculated to instigate the Ghatīs and the Kamatis to renew the riots. On the accused appealing to the High Court, it was held by Mr Justice Jardine and Mr Justice Ranade, who heard the appeal, that the meaning of the passages complained of was to be gathered from the whole poem. The general spirit of the poem was clearly in favour of peace and reconciliation. It consisted from beginning to end of a lamentation over the riots, and the destruction and death they had caused, and of repeated counsel to peace and harmony between Hindus and Mohamedans and there was nothing to indicate that the author's intention was to instigate the Hindus or provoke the Mohamedans to renew the

disturbances. The words 'Fight again' were, no doubt, objectionable, but it would not be a proper construction of the words to allow them to override the whole context of the work." The conviction was consequently quashed. The judgment, which Mr. Ranade delivered in this case, is a clear, unvarnished statement of facts, giving cogent reasons for the decision he arrived at, showing that the Government prosecution of the accused did not rest upon solid grounds, that the Presidency Chief Magistrate was erroneously led into believing the highly inflammatory character of the poem owing to his ignorance of Gujarati, and that had he known Gujarati and read the whole poem, he would have come to a different conclusion. The judgment of Mr. Justice Jardine was also able, learned and was occasionally flavoured with poetic allusions. Thus the prosecution instituted by the Government of Lord Harris failed, much to the chagrin of that Governor if one may judge from his utterances on this subject made in England after his retirement. But any other verdict was impossible on the evidence before the Judges.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

THIS chapter, which is the last is principally devoted to notice some reminiscences, anecdotes and characteristics of Mr Ranade. But before we enter on this subject two or three incidents in his domestic life may be mentioned here.

When Mr Ranade was 3 years old, his mother, Gopikabai, paid a visit to her father at Kolapur. She went there with her two children, Mr Ranade and his sister Durga Aka, who was then a child of 10 or 11 months old in a bullock cart from Ambegaon in the Poona District, where his father was then serving accompanied by her brother in law Vithukaka, who followed the cart on a horse and by a sepoy. During a night journey, while Gopikabai was sleeping with her two children in the cart, Mr Ranade, somehow or other, slipped from behind the cart unnoticed by his mother who was then fast asleep or by the sepoy who was drowsily walking beside the cart. Consequently the cart proceeded on its journey without the boy. But fortunately Vithukaka who followed the cart on horseback at some distance

from it, noticed the faint cries of the child who was lying on the road, stunned by the fall and benumbed by the sharp cold of the night air, and was astonished to find the child lying exposed on the road. He lifted him up, wrapped him in the warm clothing that was with him, and rode fast to overtake the cart, thanking God that the child had not been injured or carried away by any wild beast or driven over by any passing carriage. On reaching the cart, he asked his sister in law whether both the children were safe with her. On feeling for the children in the dark, she found to her horror that the boy was missing. The state of her mind then can be better imagined than described. Vithukaka, however, soon put an end to her lamentations by placing the boy before her. On regaining her temporarily lost child, she shed tears of joy. Had the accident otherwise terminated, had he not been rescued from the perilous position by his uncle, had he been carried away by a wolf or any other wild beast before his uncle could reach him, the Bombay Presidency would have been deprived of one of its brightest ornaments. But kindly fate ruled otherwise.

This was not the only danger from which he narrowly escaped. In the early part of 1878, when he had come from Nassik, where he was then posted, to Poona for performing the ceremony of the first anniversary of the death of

his father who had died at Kolapur a year before he suffered from a severe attack of fever of a malignant type, which lasted for more than a week and filled his numerous friends with fear and alarm, as at one time it threatened to end in serious consequences. But thanks to the skilful treatment of Dr Vishram Ramji Ghole Honorary Surgeon to the Viceroy, and one of the foremost and most talented of native physicians on this side of India this is now no more, Mr. Ranade recovered from this serious illness to the joy of his family, friends and admirers.

Another serious sickness of a different character overtook him in 1890-91. While he was on a tour of inspection as Special Judge under the Ryots' Relief Act at Karmala in the Solapur District he was attacked with choleraic diarrhoea which also threatened to prove fatal. The hospital assistant in charge of the local dispensary there found himself unable to cope with the disease. But his prudent wife, who was with him, instead of being prostrated with fear and alarm as most Hindu women under the circumstances would have been rose equal to the emergency of the occasion and did a most sensible thing by promptly telegraphing to his sister Durga Aka who was at Poona for medical help. The latter, in the dead of night went at once to Dr. Vishram Ramji Ghole the same physician who had cured him

from remittant fever in 1878, informed him of the dangerous state of her brother's health and proceeded with him to Karmala by the earliest train available. The efforts of Dr Ghole to save him from an untimely death proved again successful as in the former case. But the sickness sowed the seed of the disease which ultimately proved fatal to him.

Mr Ranade was one of the simplest of men. His great learning, rich mental endowments and high position in life had not in the least interfered with the simplicity of his character as will be seen from the following instances. He was accustomed to take long walks, either in the morning or evening, in the company of a friend or two, or alone. While at Poona, during his walks on the Parbutty side of the city, he was often asked by poor women carrying heavy loads of firewood, or grass, or kirbi, on their heads on their way to the market, to assist them in lifting those loads which they had placed upon the ground for resting awhile, thinking that as he appeared a strong ordinary man, with a kindly countenance, he would readily assist them. In this expectation they were never disappointed. For he readily assisted them in doing what few persons of his rank and position, if any at all would have done, thinking that it was beneath their dignity to do anything of the kind.

Once while he was walking on a rainy day in a street of Poona a person hurrying in from the opposite direction, came rudely in contact with him, which had the effect of making his turban fall upon the muddy ground. But Mr Ranade, instead of being angry with the man for thus causing his turban to fall unceremoniously upon the muddy road quietly lifted it from the ground and placed it up on his head. And when the man thinking that he would be severely censured for what had happened began to apologize for his apparent but unintentional rudeness Mr Ranade good naturedly observed to him that he needed no apology from him as the act was unintentional and that he was not offended at all with what was merely a street accident.

What Dr Macleod says of Lord Kelvin is also applicable to Mr Ranade viz 'There is no man less self conscious. He is absolutely without affectation or any thought of self importance. He will converse with anybody in a respectful manner.

Another noticeable feature in his character was his compromising disposition for which he was as much praised as blamed even by his friends. As no infallibility can be pleaded for any opinion or belief his liberality of thought and philosophic temperament made him perceive that where joint action is necessary no useful purpose could be served by

insisting upon the enforcement of ones own opinion, however well grounded it might appear to him without making concessions in favour of those of his opponents provided those concessions were not subversive or contradictory of the former This habit of mind enabled him to associate and sympathize with men whose opinions on some subjects differed from his own and to utilize the energies of the latter for the attainment of the object of any useful association But it had its own disadvantages For he occasionally seemed to lend countenance to opinions radically different from his own by acting in concert with the holders of those opinions for the accomplishment of any common end or purpose He was, for instance often held to blame by his friends for associating with what are called reactionists or reactionaries of Poona and other places, young men mostly fresh graduates or undergraduates of our University, who represent a phase of thought hostile to liberal views in matters of social and religious reform such as female education infant and widow marriages idolatrous practices &c A short description of them will not be out of place here The establishment of English schools and colleges in the first half of the last century was attended with results such as might have been expected by their founders and promoters For they gave rise to a body of young

men who soon became dissatisfied with the manners and customs, the superstitious beliefs and practices, the social and religious condition of the people, resulting as they did in consequences incompatible with the progress of society in civilization and enlightenment. They, therefore, aspired to reform society on the English model. Some of their aspirations were indeed just and reasonable, but others were not so, such as those relating to changes in the mode of dress and in the matter of food and drink, and a wholesale imitation of English manners and customs. In pursuance of their object of effecting social reform, they founded schools for education of girls and associations for self-improvement. At the meetings of such associations they inveighed with whatever energy and eloquence they could command against the pernicious customs and superstitious practices of their countrymen, such as child marriage, enforced widowhood, keeping women in a state of ignorance, *fasts and pilgrimages to holy places*, meaningless and often mischievous religious ceremonies, &c. Being unacquainted with their classical language and literature, as their education was confined only to the knowledge of the English language and literature, they unfortunately thought that Sanskrit literature could hardly contain anything noble and elevating and soul-stirring as the English

literature with which alone they were acquainted, and that the Hindu religion consisted of nothing but myths and fables, gross instances of superstitious practices and priestly craft. But with the establishment of the University and the encouragement given to the study of Sanskrit and other classical languages by the University curriculum, a reaction has set in amongst numerous graduates and undergraduates of the University against the wholesale condemnation of the manners and customs, of social and religious institutions of the country by the first fruits of English education, the early *alumni* of English schools and colleges. Having studied the works of some Sanskrit poets and philosophers for their examinations, they naturally came to perceive that there was much that was instructive and admirable in Sanskrit literature, whether relating to poetry, philosophy, religion, logic or other branches of knowledge, that the basis of their institutions was not radically wrong, that they were adapted to meet the requirements of the society as it existed when they were founded and that the gross abuses which have crept into them through priestly craft and superstition are not their essential features. But had their admiration of the past been confined to what was praiseworthy in it, had they been keenly alive to the abuses which have vitiated our institutions and have rendered them almost incapable of doing much good, had they though

it necessary to take active steps to correct those abuses, and to make things conform to the notions of progress and improvement we have imbibed at our schools and colleges, nothing would have been found reprehensible in their conduct. But unfortunately their indiscriminate admiration of the past glories of the Hindu civilization has led them to ignore the superior claims of European civilization to their allegiance, and to depreciate the importance of the latter in effecting the regeneration of their country. The reaction has become more violent than the action of the predecessors of the reactionists in favour of social and religious reform. The pendulum has violently swung from one extremity to the other. This is evidenced by the views, opinions, and sentiments expressed by the leading reactionists in their public lectures and speeches and in their organs in the public press. It is evident from the expressions of their opinions that while they are thorough radicals in politics, holding extreme views regarding the functions of Government and the part that should be assigned to the people in carrying on the functions, they are violent conservatives in matters of religious and social reform. While strenuously advocating the political advancement of the people and vigorously fighting (in words) for political rights and privileges, they seem to ignore the existence of any rights and privileges in

women, even in social and religious matters and to deprecate the necessity of giving higher education to the latter. Consider, for instance, the thoughtless fury with which they opposed the establishment of a high school for girls in Poona some years ago. Consider also, the stout opposition they offer to the amelioration of the condition of the women of the upper classes in the matter of widow marriage and with what alacrity they have entered into an unholy alliance with blind orthodoxy in this and other subjects of social reform. It is true some of them do not deny the justice of the principle of allowing widows to marry on the death of their husbands, but they would fain adopt the principle of *laissez faire* and would leave the righting of wrongs to the progress of time, as if time, as I said elsewhere, were a mysterious entity, capable of achieving wonders like Aladdin's lamp without any efforts on our part, and not simply an abstract term which may assume a concrete form in the shape of events brought about by the actions of men for promoting the weal or woe of mankind. The reactionaries seem to forget that if we do not try or labour to effect any reform in our condition, the time for doing it will never come. Views such as these are held by the reactionaries in social and religious matters. But they seem to represent a phase of society characterized by a passing frenzy and afford another example

of shallow draughts intoxicating the brain. Let us hope that drinking largely at the Pierian spring of English literature and philosophy will sober them again. For it is a noticeable circumstance that whatever may be their accomplishments in Sanskrit, they are as a body decidedly inferior to their predecessors, the first graduates of the University and the *alumni* of our colleges in pre-university times in their knowledge of English Literature. This is, no doubt, the result of their having to study too many subjects in a short period of three or four years for passing their examinations. Had their knowledge of Sanskrit been balanced by a thorough acquaintance with the English Literature, as in the case of Dr R G Bhandarkar and the late Mr Justice Telang, they would not have held strange reactionary views on different subjects of great importance to society. None of the reactionaries can boast of possessing such profound and scholarly knowledge of Sanskrit as the gentlemen just mentioned, who have been far from being blind admirers of the glories of Vedic and Puranic times. On the contrary, they, being equally versed in English and Sanskrit literatures, have never failed to perceive the defects of our stagnant civilization and of our priest-ridden scheme of social polity, and to insist upon removing them and adopting what is beneficial and invigorating in Western civilization for regenerating our lifeless society.

This sketch of reactionaries, however brief and slight it may be, will be, perhaps, found sufficient to reveal their character and opinions. It need hardly be remarked that Mr Ranade, who was an ardent social and religious reformer, did not share their opinions on questions of social and religious reform. But this difference of opinion did not prevent him from associating with them in matters in which there was no disagreement between him and them, such as industrial and economical reform and the political advancement of the people. It should however, be observed that, even in these cases, there was no perfect agreement between him and them. For while his views on these, as on other subjects, were marked by moderation and sobriety of judgment, those of the latter are rather extreme and extravagant, ignoring or not fully appreciating the difficulties of their position and expecting more than a gradual fulfilment of their wishes and hopes. But as observed above it was objected to his associating with them that thereby he seemed to share the opinions which were as different from his own as the poles asunder. It was also said that there did not appear any serious attempt on his part to check their extravagant opinions and teach them better ways, at least on social subjects if not on religious ones. If he could not do it, he should have severed all connection with them. But it should be remarked that the reactionaries

have become what they are, not because of their receiving any encouragement from him, but in spite of him, in spite of his efforts to persuade them to the contrary. Perhaps an attempt to change their opinions, by counsels of moderation, prudence and liberal thought would have been as feasible as to try to fill an inverted jar by pouring water upon it according to an expressive Marathi saying. It would have however, been hardly a wise and liberal policy not to utilize their energies in furtherance of objects which were common both to him and them. With this view he did not cease to co operate with them. Had he favoured their opinions on each and every subject he would have been very popular with them, but, as a matter of fact, he was anything but popular with them. For on account of his liberal views on questions of social and religious reform he was not only blamed in severe terms by them, but even grossly abused by a radical and violent portion of them. The fact of Poona being principally indebted to him for the varied activities displayed by her during his twenty two years stay in the city was audaciously questioned at one time by some of them, though authenticated by discerning outsiders such as Sir William Wedderburn, the Honble Mr Yajnik and others as shewn above and evidenced by that unparalleled burst of popular enthusiasm for doing honour to him on the eve of his depar

ture to Bombay to take up his high appointment of judge of the High Court towards the end of 1893

As observed in the first chapter of this work Mr. Ranade was a man of unusually wide reading. He was perhaps the most deeply read of all the graduates of the Bombay University in English Literature, History and Philosophy. The formidable lists of books he read for the M A and LL B Examinations given in the first chapter will give a fair idea of his immense reading. The writer of a sketch of his life, which appeared in the N W P and Oudh Educational Magazine, makes mention of an interesting fact that, when he was appointed to lecture on History as Assistant Professor in the Elphinstone College, he fortified himself for the task by laying under contribution all the historical works in the College Library, and enlivened his lectures with his researches in History to such an extent as to attract the attention of Mr Chatfield, who was then Principal of that college. Unlike most graduates of our University, his reading did not stop with his examinations or the cessation of his professorial duties, but was kept up to his dying day with unabated ardour. The latest publications in the various departments of Literature, History, Philosophy, Politics and Political Economy that were of any value were always eagerly devoured either personally or with the assistance of a reader,

as, owing to his defective and impaired eye sight, he had latterly to depend much upon others in the matter of reading and writing

Mr Ranade was not an orator like the late Mr Justice Telang or the Honble Mr Perosha Merwanji Mehta, C I E, one of our foremost public men and a distinguished barrister. But he was a ready, fluent and impressive speaker, who could speak on any subject with which he was conversant without any previous preparation, and almost at a moment's notice, in a manner never failing to produce the impression of an acute and incisive intellect, varied learning and vast store of information on almost every subject on which he seemed to draw without any effort or trouble. What the Honble Mr Macdonald has said of his addresses on Social Reform delivered at Poona, some time before the meeting of the Social Conference of 1895, is applicable to almost all his speeches. For, indeed, they are "a mine of ideas and absolutely essential to every one who would know the India of to day in its higher aspirations, remarkable for sobriety of statement enthusiasm energy, above all a spiritual fervour, and along with it a persuasive reasonableness which must strangely move his hearers. This commendation of his speeches in English may almost be extended with some modifications to his speeches in Marathi also. For he was an excellent Marathi speaker so far as the capabilities of the language

would allow him to be This can be said of very few of our graduates who are anything but proficient in the art of writing or speaking in their own tongue owing to the cold shoulder being given to the vernaculars of the country by our colleges and University

The conversational powers of Mr Ranade were of a very high order It may appear strange to those who considered his quiet and retiring disposition and reticent manner, but, nevertheless, it is a fact that he was a charming conversationalist when in the company of a few friends It was indeed then a treat to listen to him, as his conversation was almost always interesting, humorous, full of varied information, and interspersed with anecdotes He once asked me, in the course of a conversation which turned upon the merits of Dr W Wordsworth, the learned and philosophic Principal of the Deccan and Elphinstone Colleges (under whom I studied at the former college), whether I was such a devoted pupil of Dr Wordsworth as Kaliandas was of Ramdas a Maratha poet, saint and preceptor of the great Shiwaji who flourished in the 17th century, was a contemporary of Tukaram, and, like the latter, exercised, and has ever since been exercising, a potent influence by means of his writings in improving the morals of the Maratha nation On my asking him as to what was remarkable in Kaliandas as a pupil of Ramdas, he narrated the following anecdote regarding

the devotion and attachment of the former to the latter

Ramdas was surrounded with a host of pupils or disciples as every sage or philosopher of repute was in those days in India. He wished to ascertain which of his pupils was really attached to him. He, therefore, one day feigned to be suffering from a painful boil upon one of his legs, and, appearing in great distress, said to his pupils that he would be probably relieved from the pain if any one would suck out the boil without removing the bandage with which it was covered. But none of them with the exception of Kaliandas, would venture to perform the unpleasant task. But Kaliandas, coming forward, said that he would even sacrifice his life to relieve his beloved Guru or preceptor from a painful disorder, and began to suck the supposed boil hidden from view by the bandage. But lo ! instead of having to suck out the nasty matter of a boil, he found, to his surprise and delight, that he was sucking only the sweet juice of a fine mango. For the sage, to test the devotion of his pupils, had put a mango where the boil was supposed to be, and covered it with a piece of cloth. In this way the sage found out the real value of his devoted pupil Kaliandas.

Though Mr Ranade was a brilliant conversationalist, yet he did not monopolize the conversation, but allowed nay encouraged, others to have their say in the subject matter of the

conversation, being thoroughly alive to the notion of the "give and take," which is said to be an essential element of social intercourse.

Being of a sympathetic disposition, Mr Ranade could readily put himself in the place of those whom he knew, thus could well understand and appreciate the difficulties of their position and tried his best to remove them. An instance of his readiness to sympathize with those who were in difficulties of any sort, and to assist them in removing those difficulties will be found in his readiness to attend at funerals. It may appear strange to non Hindus that readiness to attend a funeral should be a noticeable trait in one's character. But those who consider the strange and preposterous notions of pollution in touching and carrying a dead body entertained by Hindus in general, and particularly by the upper castes among them, will have no difficulty in appreciating this praiseworthy feature in the character of a Hindu. It is not, generally speaking, the want of money, but the want of men of the caste of the deceased (for they have religious or sentimental objections to their dead being carried by men not belonging to their caste), that is sorely felt by his relations in the matter of carrying his body to the burning ground. On such occasions few men of the caste of the deceased are willing to undertake what to them is not only a troublesome but a polluting task, even for money, much less

for love At last, with great trouble and difficulty, four or five men are secured to assist the relations of the dead in performing the last funeral rites according to their religion All praise is then due to those who come forward to render assistance to an afflicted family On such a mournful occasion Mr Ranade was one of such praiseworthy persons An instance or two will illustrate his conduct in this matter

Rao Bahadur Madan Shrikrishna, Judge of the Small Cause Court at Poona, died suddenly of cholera there, in February, 1884 He belonged to the Khatri or Konkani weavers caste, and had no members of his caste living there in Poona His son and brother, who alone were with him, consequently found themselves placed in a great difficulty in the matter of carrying his body to the burning ground And the difficulty was enhanced by their unwillingness to employ corpse bearers of an inferior caste A fortnight before the death of Mr Madan his wife died at Poona But, as he was then occupying a high post, several persons, including Brahmins, were found to consent to carry her body But when Madan himself died few, if any, were present at his house to attend his funeral It is said that the karkuns or clerks and pleaders of his court, who had attended the funeral of his wife, were almost conspicuous by their absence at his own funeral, thus illustrating the truth of a popular

saying that when a dog of a King dies thousands of persons assemble at his place to condole with him, but when the King himself dies, not even a dog is found there. However, when Mr Ranade, who was then holding the office of Special Sub Judge under the Ryots' Relief Act and happened to be in Poona at the time, heard of this sad state of things, he promptly hastened to his house accompanied by his friend, the late Rao Bahadur Shankar Pandurang Pandit, who was then staying with him, to assist the bereaved relations of Mr Madan. And through his exertions and influence even Brahmans were found to carry his body.

Another case of a Bengalee student, who happened to die in Poona, remote from his family and friends some years ago, may be mentioned. A few Bengalee students were staying at Poona for prosecuting their studies at the College of Science, when one of them sickened and died. The inexperienced students, on the occurrence of this untoward event, were filled with alarm and dismay, and were at a loss to know how to dispose of the body of their deceased friend according to the rites of their religion in a foreign city. In their perplexity they invoked the assistance of Mr Ranade, whom they knew. And it need hardly be said that it was readily granted. He at once repaired to their lodgings, made the necessary arrangements, and relieved them from what appeared to them a perplexing difficulty.

Hundreds of such instances might be mentioned. But the above mentioned two cases will suffice to show how readily he came forward to the aid of his fellow men when they were placed in any difficulty from which he could relieve them. A third instance, however of his sympathetic disposition mentioned by the *Tribune* of Lahore in a notice of his career after his death may be cited here to show how cosmopolitan was his sympathy, not confined to a particular caste or race, but extending to all castes or races alike —“Only a few days ago,” says the *Tribune*, “a young Punjabi gentleman was recounting to us with tears of gratitude in his eyes how on one occasion, when he was alone and friendless in Bombay, he learned that his wife was dead in his far away home in the Punjab frontier. After the first benumbing shock was over, he dropped a line to Mr Justice Ranade informing him of his loss, and Mr Ranade at once left the court and came to his humble lodgings to comfort him and lighten his sorrow by his sympathy.”

Soon after the death of Mr Ranade, a Barsi Pleader (Mr Tilak) wrote a letter to a Poona journal mentioning what he had heard from him as to the method he (Mr Ranade) had pursued in acquiring such facility in speaking and writing and enriching his speeches and writings with such a vast amount of informa-

tion and knowledge on every subject he spoke or wrote about. It appears from the Pleader's letter that he, together with a friend, had jointly sent a letter to Mr Ranade, asking him to inform them about these particulars. There upon Mr Ranade sent for them and informed them of the method he had followed in reading good books in his early days. It will be seen from the letter that it was his habit to make a short summary or abstract of every important book he read, to preserve it carefully, and refer to it whenever there was an occasion for it. By this means, whatever he had read was indelibly impressed upon his mind. And his retentive and capacious memory made him readily avail himself of every bit of information stored therein at a moment's notice. It also appears from the letter that it was his practice in early years to write out his speeches before he delivered them and to embrace every opportunity of speaking that offered itself to him. Thus he shook off whatever nervousness he had in public speaking, and eventually became a self possessed, ready and fluent speaker.

It is a standing complaint, not always unfounded, that some European railway passengers treat natives of this country with gross rudeness and insolence, even those who travel in the first class. Often without any fault of the latter. This state of things will, it is feared, last as long as the pride of race, and the in

solence of office are not softened by education or humane feelings Even Mr Ranade had to encounter such an exhibition of vulgar rudeness on the part of a European traveller, apparently an officer in the army, as he was travelling in a first class carriage to Madras to attend the meeting of the Social Conference there a few years ago While he was walking with some friends on the platform of the Sholapur station, the military officer entered the compartment in which he was travelling and finding there the baggage of a native, threw it down through the window on the platform When Mr Ranade was informed of this act of rudeness on the part of the officer by his servants he, instead of resenting it, quietly directed them to place it in another compartment, observing that apparently the passenger did not wish that he should travel in the same compartment with him But the friends of Mr Ranade did not take the matter so quietly as he did, for some of them reported it to the Station Master, and informed him of the position of Mr Ranade Thereupon the Station Master remonstrated with the passenger, who pleaded ignorance of the position of Mr Ranade, as if he would be justified in throwing out the baggage of any other man and was not bound to show common courtesy to all fellow passengers to whatever race they may have belonged

The forgiving spirit of Mr Ranade was quite phenomenal. If anybody deserved the appellation of *Ajat shatru* (one to whom no enemy is born) which was applied to the head of the Pandvas for his forgiving spirit, it was Mr Ranade. Not that he had no opponents, for he had some. And not a few of them were very violent, vehement and rancorous owing to their being opposed to him in matters of social and religious reform. But he did not view them in the light of enemies, but considered them as persons who represented the other side of the controversy between him and them, though in an unmannerly way and whose utterances were necessary for elucidating the truth, and never uttered a single word of bitterness or unfriendliness against any of them in public or private. The utmost that he could speak against them, even when they indulged in violent ravings, was that they would ultimately perceive the errors of their ways, if they were erroneous at all. Possessed of a warm passion for truth as was justly said by Mr Selby, the learned, thoughtful, and philosophical Principal of the Deccan College, in an excellent speech delivered by him at a memorial meeting held under the presidency of Sir Charles Ollivant in the Hall of the Poona Native General Library, on 22nd July, 1901, for raising subscriptions for perpetuating the memory of Mr Ranade, he (Mr Ranade) did not care for victory over his op

solence of office are not softened by education or humane feelings. Even Mr Ranade had to encounter such an exhibition of vulgar rudeness on the part of a European traveller, apparently an officer in the army, as he was travelling in a first class carriage to Madras to attend the meeting of the Social Conference there a few years ago. While he was walking with some friends on the platform of the Sholapur station, the military officer entered the compartment in which he was travelling and finding there the baggage of a native, threw it down through the window on the platform. When Mr Ranade was informed of this act of rudeness on the part of the officer by his servants he, instead of resenting it, quietly directed them to place it in another compartment, observing that apparently the passenger did not wish that he should travel in the same compartment with him. But the friends of Mr Ranade did not take the matter so quietly as he did, for some of them reported it to the Station Master and informed him of the position of Mr Ranade. Thereupon the Station Master remonstrated with the passenger, who pleaded ignorance of the position of Mr Ranade, as if he would be justified in throwing out the baggage of any other man and was not bound to show common courtesy to all fellow passengers to whatever race they may have belonged.

The forgiving spirit of Mr Ranade was quite phenomenal. If anybody deserved the appellation of *Ajat shatru* (one to whom no enemy is born) which was applied to the head of the Pandvas for his forgiving spirit, it was Mr Ranade. Not that he had no opponents, for he had some. And not a few of them were very violent, vehement and rancorous owing to their being opposed to him in matters of social and religious reform. But he did not view them in the light of enemies, but considered them as persons who represented the other side of the controversy between him and them, though in an unmannerly way and whose utterances were necessary for elucidating the truth, and never uttered a single word of bitterness or unfriendliness against any of them in public or private. The utmost that he could speak against them, even when they indulged in violent ravings, was that they would ultimately perceive the errors of their ways, if they were erroneous at all. Possessed of a warm passion for truth as was justly said by Mr Selby, the learned, thoughtful, and philosophical Principal of the Deccan College, in an excellent speech delivered by him at a memorial meeting held under the presidency of Sir Charles Ollivant in the Hall of the Poona Native General Library, on 22nd July, 1901, for raising subscriptions for perpetuating the memory of Mr Ranade, he (Mr. Ranade) did not care for victory over his op-

ponents in any controversy in which he was engaged with them. But he only cared for finding out the truth

Once a Brahmin cook in his service took to pilfering small things in the house. And as his thievish propensities remained undetected for a long time, he went on stealing from small things to great. One night taking the key of an iron safe, he opened it, and while in the act of removing the jewellery of Mr. Ranade therefrom was detected and apprehended by servants in the house. But when they reported the matter to their master, what did he do? Any other person in his position would have sent the thief to the police. But that good-natured man, instead of doing anything of the kind, sent him with some money to his village in the Konkan.

Another instance of his forgiving spirit may be mentioned here. In 1899, while at Lonavla for the hot season, he entrusted a grown-up boy who was under his guardianship with a packet containing his judgment and that of his colleague, Mr Justice Parsons in one of the Chapekar murder cases for posting it at the Lonavla Post Office. But soon after the fellow returned, and said that he had lost the packet on his way to the Post Office. The story could not have been true, for it is difficult to believe that the boy could have lost the packet in broad daylight on a

short road leading from Mr Ranade's bungalow to the Post Office and that too not much frequented. It was suspected that the fellow, instead of posting the packet to Bombay, sent it to some misguided sympathisers of the Chapekar murderers at Poona, as the news of the loss of the judgments spread, and their contents became known sooner at Poona than at Bombay or any other place. But what did Mr Ranade do with the boy, whose highly suspicious conduct compelled him and his colleague to rewrite their respective judgments? He did nothing except severely reprimanding him, though under the circumstances of the case he would have been quite justified in turning the boy out of his house, and keeping him aloof from him at some other place. But the boy had been placed under his care and protection by his father while on his deathbed, and Mr Ranade thought that he would not have been fulfilling the trust that had been reposed in him by a dying man, if he did anything of the kind. He therefore continued keeping the boy in his house, and fulfilled the trust most scrupulously to the last, even at some risk to his reputation.

It is said that Mr Ranade's intellect was more analytic than synthetic. He could destroy more than he could construct. For an instance of this nature of his intellect we are referred to the celebrated speech he delivered at Amraoti some years ago, in which by resorting to the

Socratic method of questioning, he made the specious looking fabric of the Revivalists crumble to pieces. It is true, in that fine speech he showed how ridiculous, nay absurd, was the programme of Revivalists. But he did not rest contented with demonstrating that it was utterly unfit for adoption by any modern society caring for progress and enlightenment. For he substituted for it a programme of reform showing that unless each and every individual's character is reformed according to the highest ideal of human morality, unless he is actuated by lofty motives, by a sense of justice leading him to act justly towards all, including the female sex, unless he strives to promote reform and progress in all departments of activity, he will remain in a state of depression and degradation. It will be seen from numerous instances of Mr. Ranade's many sided activity that he did not stick simply to any advancement in politics or social or religious reform or to economical or industrial progress but interested himself in all of them. In fact his many sided activity, in the words of Mr. Selby, 'was but the outward expression of his comprehensiveness of view. He knew that if society is to move at all it must move altogether all along the line. And how was this to be done? "By reform" was his answer. And reform of what? "Not of the outward form but of the thought and the idea which determines the outward form that has to be changed,

if real reformation is desired" (*vide* his speech at the Social Conference at Amraoti 1897) The speech shows that he not only pulled down the fabric of social abuses, but pointed out the basis on which a new and lasting edifice of social polity should be erected. He then can be as little called a destroyer as a builder of a new house on the site of an old one, simply because he has to pull down the latter for constructing the former. In fact all his speeches and addresses unmistakably testify not only to the analytical but also to the synthetical element in his character.

It is also said that the influence of Mr Ranade over his contemporaries, great as it was, was merely personal. He was respected not for what he did, but for what he was, a man of pure and lofty character and of unquestionable disinterestedness. They praised him for his goodness, but rejected his views as those of a visionary. Even those, it is remarked, who co-operated with him in starting and forwarding the movements which were at his heart, did so simply to please him and not because they thought them to be useful or practical. This is also not a right view of the influence he exercised over his contemporaries. It is true that though he was respected by the followers of different schools of thought, his views on different subjects were far from being accepted or shared by all of them. But this was owing to his comprehensiveness or breadth

of view which could generally speaking hardly predicated of those who differed from him. For instance some of those, who agreed with him on matters political and economical, differed from him on questions relating to social and religious reform, while others who co-operated with him in promoting the latter doubted the usefulness or utility of advocating the political advancement of the people. Reform all along the line was what his opponents could not perceive the necessity or feasibility of. Hence he presented the spectacle of a great and good man failing to carry out his numerous admirers and friends with him in all matters which engaged his attention and activity. But this does not detract from his many sidedness, but merely testifies to the limited visions and one sided view of those who differed from him. Was he right or wrong in advocating the necessity of reform all along the line? At first sight it seems hard to doubt what answer will be given to this question by the discerning or thoughtful public. Time, however, it is to be hoped, will fully answer this question. It should also be remarked that it was not the case that he found no hearty and enthusiastic coadjutors in any movement he advocated or started. For those who shared his views in politics seconded his efforts in this matter with heart and soul, while those who were of his opinion on questions of social and

religious reform actively supported his views in this respect. It was only when his followers or adherents were called upon to act with him in matters in which they held opinions different from his own, that there was any faint-heartedness or actual revolt on their part.

The influence he exercised over his contemporaries was unique and potent. An instance of the high esteem in which he was held by them may be mentioned here. At the meeting of the Social Conference which was held at Lahore towards the end of December, 1900, and which he was unable to attend, a resolution regarding the elevation of low castes was proposed, but it proved to be a bone of contention between the members of the Arya Samaj who had converted certain low caste Sikhs to their faith, and the upper classes of Sikhs who bitterly resented the conversion. A hot debate ensued, which was followed by an uproar and confusion in which the authority of the chairman was defied and chaos and tumult usurped the place of the orderliness which usually distinguishes the meetings of the Social Conference. The promoters of the Social Conference were at a loss to know how to quell the disturbance. But a happy idea occurred to the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale who attended the meeting, that mentioning the name of the father of the Social Conference would pacify the tumult. He therefore walked to the most

furious of the combatants, and is reported to have whispered in their ears the following words, or words of a similar import "Mr Ranade is ill and is prevented by his illness from attending this meeting. He has asked me to tell everybody here to sink their differences and make the meeting a success. These words served like a *mantra* or charm to pacify the combatants, and to make them sit down quietly. Their example was followed by others, and order and quiet were restored in the assembly, which afterwards peacefully conducted its proceedings, and brought them to a successful termination.

When we consider how hard Mr Ranade worked for the benefit of his countrymen, the question forces itself upon our attention whether his work will be lasting, and whether the fruits of his labours will be permanent? This question depends for its answer, as observed by Mr Selby in his speech which is referred above and which is so excellent that it can not be too often quoted from upon another question. Are his countrymen fit to carry on the work he commenced? He sowed the seed. Are they prepared to water and nurture the growing plant? Do they possess the earnestness or industry, and the intelligence he brought to bear upon what he undertook to do, or even a part of these desirable and indispensable qualities necessary for doing any perma

ment good? If they do, the question can be easily answered. If they do not, it will have to be said that he sowed the seed in an uncongenial soil, and wasted the fragrance of his splendid talents and persevering zeal upon the desert air of Maharashtra. Time alone will give a full and complete answer to this question. If the question in the course of time be unfortunately answered in the negative, the deplorable answer will hardly detract from the merit of Mr. Ranade's work, but will only reflect upon the capability of his countrymen for receiving and assimilating what is essential to their regeneration.

The invincible modesty and retiring disposition of Mr. Ranade appeared in all the movements he instituted, started or supported. As Mr. Selby well observed in the speech mentioned above, "his own anxiety seemed to be to keep himself in the back ground, and let others have the credit. We may say of him, what Bacon said of himself, he was willing to play the part of hodman to carry the bricks and mortar on his back, if only the temple were built." Those only who were intimately acquainted with him knew who was the real originator or inspirer of the various movements which marked his stay in Poona, but of which to the outside world he appeared to be only a silent spectator.

An instance of his strong retentive memory may be mentioned here. When I was a Joint Subordinate Judge at Poona, in 1875-77, deputed to assist Mr Ranade who was then the First Class Subordinate Judge there in clearing off heavy arrears in his court, I had often to consult him on questions of law arising in cases before me. On such occasions I found to my surprise that he knew the history of each and every case referred to him. When I asked him how he could remember the details of every case I mentioned to him, he observed that on the presentation of a plaint, he personally examined it with the documents accompanying it, and thus came to remember all important particulars connected with it. The examination of plaints together with documents filed with it was done by Mr Ranade even at a time when Subordinate Judges were relieved of this work and their clerks of the Court were authorized to do it in their stead. I therefore asked him the reason of taking this extra trouble. He answered that by doing it he found his task much facilitated when the case came before him for hearing. I simply remarked that one might examine each and every plaint, but would find it difficult to remember all about it when the case comes on for hearing before him after some months or possibly a year or two.

A comparison between Nana Fadnavis, the great Maratha statesman and administrator, and Mr Ranade has often been made. There are indeed some points of resemblance between the two. But in making any comparison between them, it must be borne in mind that in speaking about Mr Ranade we can only speak of possibilities of what he would have been had circumstances afforded an ample scope for the exercise of his valuable mental gifts. Nana Fadnavis on the other hand had every opportunity of achieving what he was capable of doing, and did it upon the whole successfully. Noting this defective nature of this comparison we may proceed with it for what it is worth.

It is a noticeable fact that Nana Fadnavis and Mr Ranade were born and died a century apart. The former was born in 1742 and died in 1800, and the latter was born in 1842 and died early in 1901, both having lived about the same number of years. But what is more important than this physical fact is that both were richly endowed by nature with her choicest intellectual gifts. Both were remarkable for their persevering industry, shrewdness and foresight. Intellectually, both were head and shoulder above their contemporaries. Both appeared, as it were, born to command, and gathered around them a body of men devoutly attached to them and ready to do their bidding. But

in qualities of heart there was a remarkable difference between them. While Mr Ranade possessed the virtues of a saint, Nana Fadnavis was anything but remarkable for possessing these, and was not a stranger to craftiness and unscrupulousness in adopting means for attaining his end. The policy of the end justifying the means was the prevailing maxim of state craft in the age of the latter and was freely adopted by him. Judging from the low standard of morality prevailing in his time, he was not worse than contemporary public men. This is all that can be said in his favour. But the most glaring defect in his character was his want of moral courage, which weighed down the great qualities of the head which he undoubtedly possessed, vitiated his skilfully devised and well matured plans, neutralized the effects of his wise policy and ultimately brought about his ruin. But, in spite of this defect in his character, the qualities of a statesman he possessed to a high degree enabled him to wield supreme power in Maharashtra in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and to become one of the greatest of Indian Administrators. If his administration was not uniformly successful and collapsed towards the end of his career, that was not owing to any lack of talent but to the defect in his character noted above. But with Mr Ranade the case was different. He had no full scope for the

exercise of his abilities and many-sided activities. He could only rise to the position of a Judge of the High Court under the British Government. For the natives of this country have been unfortunately excluded from any higher office of the State in pursuance of a policy which is styled by some critics of the British Government as short sighted and illiberal. This policy, indeed, stands in a lamentable contrast with that of the Mahomedan rulers of this country who, in spite of their intolerance, bigotry and pride of race ungrudgingly admitted capable natives of the country even to the highest offices of State such as those of ministers rulers of provinces and commanders of armies. But the adoption of any such liberal policy by the British Government appears at present nothing more than a dream of the future. It is true we have our late noble minded Queen's Proclamation of 1858, which throws open high offices of State to natives of proved ability and integrity without any distinction of race, caste or creed. But this portion of the Proclamation, which is justly considered as our Magna Charta, remains as yet uncarried out in its entirety. It is true some advance has been made in this direction, but not to a great extent. Let us, however, hope that in the course of time this beneficent and wise provision of the proclamation will be more and more given effect to.

and that the recommendation of the *London Times* for employing a distinguished native statesman in the office of Indian Finance Minister will be more favourably received than it was when it was first made some years ago. When some time after the Indian Mutiny, the Indian Finances had fallen into what appeared to be a hopeless muddle, the *London Times* one morning surprised its readers by recommending that the late Sir T. Madhavrao, one of the best Indian statesmen and administrators whom the latter half of the 19th century produced, should be appointed to the office of Indian Finance Minister, as he was more fitted than any member of the Civil Service to evolve order out of financial chaos. The recommendation was pooh-poohed as extravagant or preposterous at the time. Let us, however, hope that what was once considered as fanciful or absurd may become an accomplished fact in a more advanced and liberal age. Let us derive lessons of patience and contentment from the example of Mr. Ranade himself. For he used to remark, as observed by the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale in the excellent speech he delivered on the Land Revenue Bill in the Legislative Council in August, 1901, "that though there may be less field for personal ambition and less scope for the display of individual talent under the present regime there is ample compensation, and more than

ample compensation in the blessings of peace and order well established, in the larger possibilities of enlightenment and progress secured to the mass of our countrymen, in the higher ideals of civic and national life to which we have been introduced, and in the rousing of the moral energies of the people

Mr Ranade's kindness of heart was experienced alike by the high and the low, the rich and the poor. In fact, he was one of those saintly men who feel for all. An instance of the genuine sympathy he felt for the lowest of the low may be mentioned here. During the severe famine of 1899-1900 he received a visit from an Engineer who was employed on famine duty. In the course of conversation he inquired of the Engineer how the starving, helpless poor people were taken care of. The latter replied that every arrangement that was possible under the circumstances was made for saving life. But, of course, it was expected that some would die of starvation in spite of arrangements that were made for saving life. Thereupon Mr Ranade who was usually calm and sedate in conversation even when it turned upon controversial matters, appeared much affected, and warmly remarked, "What you say is that some were expected to die of starvation, and you allowed them to die of hunger? What if you had died? Was it not your duty to

see that none of God's creatures died of hunger?' The *Engineer* who never expected such an exhibition of vehemence or warmth of feelings from Mr Ranade, replied that he did as much as the funds at his disposal would allow him to do, and when they failed to reach any case of starvation he himself, out of his private purse relieved as much distress as was possible for him. But the distress was so widespread, that it was not an easy task to alleviate.

It was a matter of surprise that Mr Ranade, in spite of his heavy official duties, found leisure for immense work other than official. Throughout his official career he was appointed to offices such as those of First class Subordinate Judge and Small Cause Court Judge at Poona Special Sub judge and afterwards Judge under the Deccan Ryots Relief Act and lastly Judge of the High Court which entailed upon the incumbent such heavy work as was more than enough to engage the energies of an ordinary man. But Mr Ranade was not an ordinary man. Hence he not only promptly and satisfactorily discharged the duties attached to these offices, but found time to do other heavy work. The complaint of ordinary officials is that they have no time to do anything else besides their official duties. But no such complaint was ever heard from Mr Ranade. He most willingly and readily came forward to perform what he was

asked to do, provided it was of a public nature or intended to do any good to the public, or even to any private individual, who, without any fault of his own, was placed in a position of difficulty or distress. Though he received a large number of letters from various public men or public bodies or private individuals on a variety of subjects almost every day, yet he answered each and all with almost Gladstonian promptitude and regularity. Even a few hours before his death he dictated answers to more than a dozen letters to his brother Aba. The secret of his finding leisure for so much work that he did would be found to lie in his strict division of time. Every hour or a number of hours was strictly devoted to a particular kind of work or engagement. There was no part of waking hours that was not occupied by some useful or necessary work, or that was left to idle amusements. Though this was not in strict accordance with rules of hygiene as I said elsewhere, or calculated to ensure a long continuance of health, yet it was to his liking, and afforded him ample time to do the immense work with which he is not unjustly credited.

The eclectic spirit of Mr. Ranade is best shown in his teaching English to his wife through the medium of the Bible, a fact noticed by the Hon. Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar in one of his speeches relating to him. When Mr. Ranade found that his wife had sufficiently

advanced in her study of English to understand the Bible, he selected that best book in the English Language to promote her knowledge of that language under his own tuition, not only because in its ethical portion it contains the highest ideal of morality, but also because of its simplicity, easiness and excellence of diction admirably suited to enable students to make a rapid and easy progress in that language. He perceived no objection to his choosing the Bible as a text book for teaching English to his wife on the ground of its teaching a religion different from what he believed in, because he held that we must choose whatever was good and excellent in every religion, though we might reject its doctrinal and dogmatic portion.

In his speech on Revival and Reform delivered at the meeting of the Social Conference at Amraoti in 1897, Mr. Ranade inveighed in no measured terms against the theory of Karm or destiny. When I asked him whether by so doing he was not depriving thousands of human beings of the consolation that is afforded to them *in times of distress, misery or affliction by that theory*, he sent me a letter in January, 1898, from which an extract may be given here as it shows his view of that vexed question. "I have no quarrel with theory of Karm rightly understood. Karm is of three kinds and is not all Pralabhada (प्रालब्ध) or Sanchit (संचित). Our duty is to cultivate the third kind कर्ममान

(that is the actions of the present life), and to be a master and not a slave of the Lord. Karm, as wrongfully understood, is very much like (Kismet) of fatalists, and is pure idleness and weakness."

"Mr. Gladstone," says Mr Morley (in his speech at the unveiling of his statue at Manchester), "was one of the men who rise from time to time in the world, a rare class of men, sometimes a great ruler, sometimes a revolutionary poet, sometimes a mighty churchman who sweeps like some new planet into the skies, and fascinate and absorb the attention of their age." I leave it to my reader to determine whether the foregoing chapters of this work show that Mr. Ranade may be ranked in the rare class of men mentioned by Mr Morley.

The eloquent speech which the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandavarkar delivered at the celebration of the first anniversary of the death of Mr. Ranade at the Bombay Prarthana Samaj Mandir, on the 12th February, 1902, contains some interesting reminiscences about him; such of those as are not noticed above may be mentioned here.

In the said speech Mr. Justice Chandavarkar refers to Mr. Ranade's habit of reading aloud so as to make "not only the mind but also the ears take in what you read," and to strengthen the impression caused by reading. Once, it is said, this habit of reading

aloud disturbed the quiet of Sir Alexander Grant, then Principal of the Elphinstone College in his room, while Mr Ranade was reading aloud, sitting bareheaded on a bench in an adjacent room, and stretching his legs on a table before him. Thereupon the Principal went out of his room to ascertain whence the noise came, and when he found that it was Mahadeo (as Mr Ranade was called at College), who caused the noise quietly returned to his room, saying to the student who wanted to run to Mr Ranade and stop his noisy reading, "Do not interfere. Let him go on with his study. Such a high opinion did he entertain about Mr Ranade, that he allowed him to read aloud though it caused some disturbance to him."

According to Mr Chandavarkar Mr Ranade carried the habit of reading aloud to the High Court, and thereby found himself somewhat embarrassed when the pleaders cited cases to him which he could not read aloud as he was sitting with another Judge in court. But the cause of the embarrassment would be rightly traced not to the habit, but to his growing deafness in Bombay, and perhaps to the pleaders not reading sufficiently aloud so as to be heard by him. For as a matter of fact latterly he himself could read but very little, owing to his failing eye-sight, and had consequently to employ readers who read aloud to him.

The habit of making summaries of whatever was valuable in any book he read or in any case he had to decide appears to have stuck to him to the last to the benefit of his colleagues on the Bench. For according to Mr Chandavarkar, one of them acknowledged to him after Mr Ranade's death that he had derived much assistance from him in complicated murder cases. The fact was that he studied each and every case so carefully and minutely that he owing to his vast retentive memory, could remember all about it at any time as vividly as an interesting period in History.

Mr Ranade was often found absorbed in meditation, even while he was walking. Mr Chandavarkar mentions two instances of such self-absorption in meditation while walking, in the speech just referred to. Once while he was walking with Mr Chandavarkar he himself started a question as to the apparent disagreement of the moral government of the world with certain calamities befalling men in general, as for instance, the utter destruction of a number of villages by flood which appears to have prompted the question. But he soon became so absorbed in finding an explanation of such a calamitous event that he could give no answer at the time. However, once in Poona, I was favoured with his views on this vexed question. For at the request of a friend

I once asked him how he would explain the apparent disorders in the moral Government of the world on the theory of a beneficent Providence. He thus answers the question.

While looking on the Poona Railway Station from an overbridge to the East of it, we see a perplexing maze of rails crossing or interlacing each other which apparently would puzzle a pointsman instead of assisting him to guide a passing train to the proper line. But such is not the case in reality. For when the pointsman masters the details of the net work of rails, he unerringly guides the train to the way intended for it. In the same way were we to understand every part of the universal scheme we should come to know that partial evil is not inconsistent with universal good and that the operation of universal laws necessitates the happening of such calamities as we erroneously think argue an interference with the design of a beneficent Providence.

The other question referred to by Mr Chandavarkar relating to the meaning of the 'religion of Maharashtra' according to Ramdas has since been fully answered by Mr Ranade in the 8th chapter of his history of the Maratha Power noticed in the 2nd chapter (Vol II) of this work. It will be seen therefrom that Ramdas must have meant by the religion of the Marathas not the *Vedic* or the *Puranic* but the religion of the Marathas.

as developed and reformed by the teachings and preachings of the Saints and Prophets of Maharastra, who flourished during a period of 500 years from the 13th century, and who have imparted to the religion of the country its characteristic features

Mr. Ranade's power of concentration was indeed phenomenal. In the midst of noise, bustle, or company he would go on with the work in hand as if there was nobody present to disturb his quiet. His accessibility to all did not interfere with his work at all. As remarked by Mr. Chandravarkar in the speech just mentioned, he received visitors of all sorts without any objection. If his visitors happened to be men worth talking to, he would lay aside his work and engage in conversation with them. But if they were simply bores, he had a way of dismissing them peculiar to himself. He did not dismiss them peremptorily, but would ask them to do some work for him if anything could be got out of them at all. This had the desired effect. For they seldom repeated their visits to him. When as a Special Judge he was touring in the districts he had often to put up in a temple of the village. There in a corner of the temple the Special Judge was often seen sitting on a carpet, eating a *ladu* (a sweetmeat ball), answering a letter or deciding an agricultural case, or listening to the off repeated tales of agriculturists.

woes This will no doubt remind the readers of Gibbon, of the simplicity of the early prophets of Islam, sitting on the steps of the Mosque at Mecca, eating dates and receiving ambassadors and envoys from distant countries His touring in the Districts in his charge as Special Judge illustrated not only the simplicity of his way of living whether at home or on tour and his accessibility to all, but also his power of concentration For in spite of noise or din in an Indian temple caused by the worshippers of the God going to and fro, and their crowding near him in order to have a look at him (which he would not allow his sepoys to prevent, remarking that they had as much right to be there as he had) he would go on with his work apparently quite undisturbed

Mr Ranade was always full of shrewd remarks in conversation While the late Mr Waman Abaji Modak, C I E, was lying hopelessly ill in one of the rooms of his bungalow at Bombay, a friend from Poona visited him there, and asked him what sick person was in an adjoining room, he replied that the sick man was Mr Modak riling from the same disease from which the whole of India was suffering namely paralysis'

I have thus gone through my labour of love inspired solely by the sentiments of affection, reverence and admiration towards one who has

been considered, not only by myself, but by the whole of India, as a great and good man.

I finish my self-imposed task by quoting the following lines of the Poet.—

“Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time,—
Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother
Seeing, shall take heart again.

N B.—The Author regrets to add that during the printing of the work he became suddenly ill. Being thus rendered unable to revise the proofs he was obliged to delegate this labourious task to those who are near and dear to him. If any errors or mistakes or misprints in the work have escaped their attention, the reader, it is to be hoped, will gently pass over them, considering the inability of the Author to do the work himself.

APPENDIX.

THE following extract of a letter addressed by Mr Justice Ranade to Rao Sahib G V. Kanitkar, B A , LL B , Sub judge of Malegaon, on 2nd February, 1890, was received too late from the latter for insertion in the body of the work As it is an interesting expression of opinion of Mr. Justice Ranade, showing how moderate were his views on the hotly discussed question of the Consent Bill, it is appended here

“As regards the general question, I am not at all surprised that with your reading confined to the most liberal exponents of modern English thought, you have come to entertain rather very strong views on the point of the comparative inefficiency of legislation These exponents of thought, however, write for their age and country, and it is this element of *relativity* which our students of their works appear to me not to take into their consideration when they apply the lessons to practical Indian questions The great exponents of thought in every age are unconsciously influenced by the tendencies of their times and countries, and direct their efforts more or less effectively to correct

these tendencies. When the tendencies are just the other way, their lessons have to be applied with great reservations. In England and on the continent generally, society has passed through the age of authority and command. Democratic forms and ideas have prevailed so long that the principle of individualism has to be asserted in no measured terms. Society with us has not passed through the stage of authority and command. The individual is not as strong to help himself and others, and refuses the proffered liberty of some of the foreign institutions introduced into this country. Moreover, the subordination of the social to the theological element makes it additionally necessary to be on one's guard in applying British or European teachings. For in those countries the theological or religious element has been completely separated from the temporal after a long struggle. When these additional elements are taken into account, the contrast of conditions becomes most striking. We are not barbarians certainly, but we are priest ridden—we are caste ridden. Authority is supreme in settling the smallest details of our life in all departments. In such a state of Society, the expectation that each individual will possess sufficient independence to work out his destiny by the higher law within us is of course anticipating events by decades. In the mean while we cannot afford to wait. The fringes

of Society may be able to help itself, but it is, after all, a fringe—and the mass is inert and spell bound. How is the spell to be removed? Individual and co-operative capacity for voluntary action has been crushed out for centuries, and till the bondages are removed and full scope is allowed for the higher capacities to grow there is no possibility of new healthy growth.

“Do we feel strong enough and warm enough to act according to our best lights? or do we feel paralyzed and shaken in our best resolves? Why have we not been able to bring up to our surface men like Howard, Cobden, Bright, Gladstone, Peel, Wilberforce, the Martyrs and Patriots of other lands? The disease is in us, and more waiting on chance will never help. We have to go through the great discipline and regulating influence of well ordered conditions of life, to be taken up from valleys and placed on the mountain tops to breathe better air and grow broader and larger. We are at best in the convalescent stage, strict regimen and doctoring is necessary and the *laissez faire* of health is not for us.”

